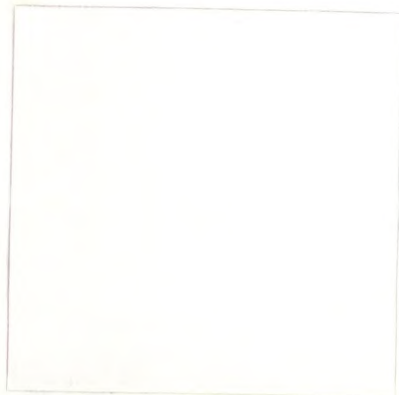


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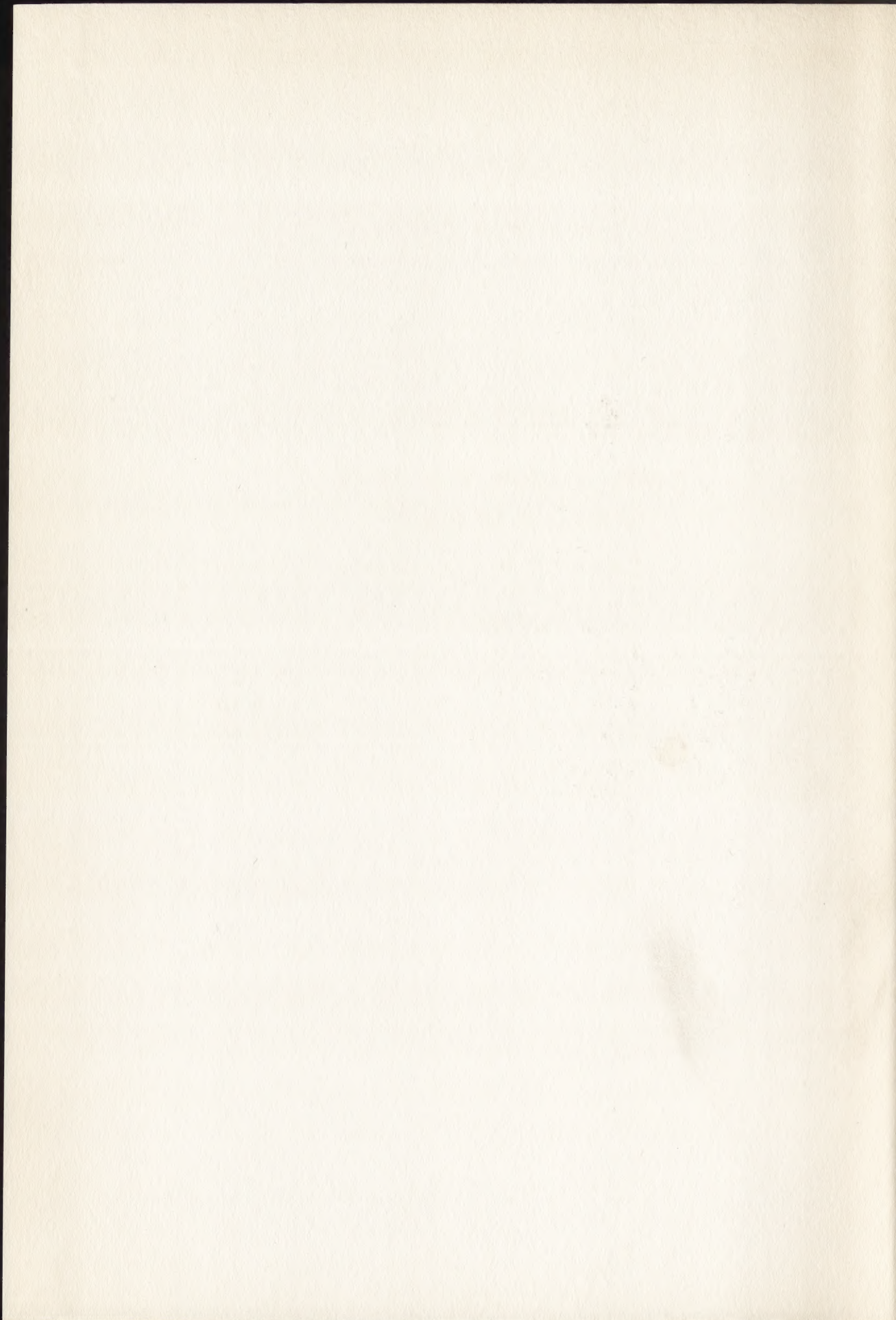












GIOTTO
AND SOME OF HIS
FOLLOWERS

VOLUME I

Journal of the
1880-1881

GIOTTO
AND SOME OF HIS
FOLLOWERS

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VOLUME I



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PREFACE

THIS book would never have been written had it not been for some of my good friends of the Fine Arts Department at Harvard University. Had I been left alone with my material (collected during many years) it would have remained a burden to me rather than an incentive to a book. I should hardly ever have felt the happy surprise I now feel when I see the book almost completed, though I still cannot help regretting that it had to be finished with so much haste.

The incentive came to me in the following way. One day in December, 1915, I lunched with two of the professors of the Fine Arts Department at the Harvard Club in Boston. I was much impressed by the splendid and exhaustive teaching carried on by the professors of the Department, whereas at home I was so unfortunate as to be single-handed. The only thing I could say on my own behalf was that I had been lecturing on Giotto and his followers. But this was enough. My friends' enthusiasm and appreciation for any efforts in the field of the History of Art seemed at once to attach a peculiar importance to those tedious lectures; and when they heard that I had some of my notes with me, they expressed a desire that I should give some of the same lectures at Harvard. The proposal was a surprise to me, but there was something tempting about it for it afforded me an opportunity for a longer stay at the leading university in America, where the study of the History of Art had become particularly well founded. I did not perhaps at first realize my own incapacity as deeply as I ought to have. At any rate, preliminaries were soon discussed more in detail and the very serious difficulty involved in my insufficient command of the English language was disposed of when my friends promised they would find me some secretary or collaborator who would be able to answer for the linguistic side of the endeavor. It may be said at once that this promise was carried out in the most splendid way when they secured Mr. Frederic Schenck, at that time Instructor in the English Department at Harvard, to assist me in the writing of my lectures in English.

How the final arrangements were concluded which led to my moving from New York to Cambridge, is hardly a matter of inter-

est to the reader of this book. It all came about very suddenly; and in the middle of January, 1916, I found myself located with Mr. Schenck at "The Blacksmith's Shop" in Cambridge. I may, however, add that the first three lectures had been prepared by me with the assistance of some American-Scandinavian friends in New York, and I wish to mention with particular gratitude Mr. John Gade and his mother who were most active in helping me over the initial difficulties. These lectures were then slightly corrected by Mr. Schenck. How this admirable linguist and great lover of Romance Art managed to do all the rest of the very long and tiresome labor involved in the shaping of these English lectures still seems to me almost inexplicable. Since he had, of course, his regular duties and occupations at the same time, he could devote only his spare moments — usually at night — to my labors. I shall hardly ever forget those late hours on Brattle Street when I tried to dictate some theories about Giotto or his followers in an English which was plentifully interspersed with foreign expressions, but which was nevertheless turned by Mr. Schenck into scholarly language. I am fully convinced that had I not insisted upon so many awkward turns and modes of expression to which I was accustomed, the book would have appeared in finer literary form. So the linguistic purist ought not to blame him, but rather me who cared less about the literary form than about theories and the *langue de métier*. It also happened more than once that I got tired and despondent about the whole undertaking and left Mr. Schenck alone to translate from the Swedish or German manuscripts I had prepared years ago; he did it nearly as well as when we collaborated, for he had the grasp of my trend of thought, even when expressions occurred which could not be translated with the aid of dictionaries.

When the lectures finally had been delivered, and my friends at Harvard arranged with the Harvard University Press to have them published — an arrangement which was mainly due to the initiative and efforts of Professor Paul Sachs — I inserted some complementary chapters in order to make the whole publication more like a book on Giotto and some of his followers. But of course it still retains its original character of a series of lectures, and perhaps something more. It has no pretense to be an exhaustive, historical book on the early Florentine Trecento painters; it is merely an attempt to lay a foundation for a better knowledge and truer estimate of the most prominent painters in Florence about 1300–60. For this purpose it seems to me superfluous to describe every paint-

ing that may be associated with the masters under discussion, or to make a note of every traditional and pseudo-historical record that may exist about them. I have simply tried to give as clear an outline as possible of the leading artistic individualities, completing the critical analysis of their main works with such documentary or historical records as seemed to me most trustworthy and which I had been able to collect without plunging into the bottomless sea of research in the Italian archives. But even with these very narrow limitations of my preparatory studies I am able to offer some information about Giotto's principal followers which is not to be found in any other book on the subject.

The books which exist on Florentine Trecento painting are not only scanty and incomplete, but mostly unsatisfactory from a scholarly point of view. I can say this without bias, because I have myself for many years been an active contributor to the literature on Giotto and his followers. Even the rather bulky and numerous publications, which during the last twenty or twenty-five years have been printed about Giotto himself, contribute comparatively little to a truer knowledge and appreciation of the great master's individual aims and his position in the general evolution of Trecento painting. Giotto has been too often treated as an isolated figure, and too little studied in relation to his contemporaries and followers whose art may serve to throw much light on the dominating figure. This is also the case in the last important monograph on Giotto by Dr. F. Rintelen. It is a book which indeed holds a place of its own and, in the way of scholarly methods and critical analysis, far exceeds all previous publications on the same subject. But as the author entered upon his work without sufficient study of the art that preceded and followed Giotto, his book has, in my opinion, become not only one-sided but in certain respects even misleading. Rintelen gives splendid exhaustive descriptions, for instance, of Giotto's Paduan frescoes, but when it comes to works in which Giotto's share is less evident, he over-shoots the mark in his depreciative critical account. Giotto's art becomes in his hands a rather abstract phenomenon without relation to the general trend of development in Trecento painting — an imposing intellectual structure, admirable in the boldness of its outlines but historically unexplained. Rintelen's presentation of Giotto appears in many ways a reaction against Thode's treatment of the same subject in his well known work on St. Francis and his monograph on the painter — books which in great part are built on historical traditions

and on records of dubious trustworthiness. It is only to be regretted that Rintelen goes so far in his depreciation of all historical records and in his contempt for Giotto's following as to lead us astray when it comes to attributions and dates, because he has on the other hand a firm grasp of many of the basic qualities in the master's art.

My endeavor was to regard Giotto's art as far as possible in relation to the art that preceded, surrounded, and followed the great master. I have, of course, paid particular attention to the analysis of his main creations (though not necessarily describing every picture) and I hope that the principal features of this gigantic personality have been sufficiently emphasized to impress every one with his absolute superiority and unique historical importance. But at the same time it was obvious to me that Giotto could not be rightly understood without a broader presentation of his school than has hitherto been made. Accordingly I did not hesitate to devote considerable space and effort to the discussion of several, little known masters who followed in his wake. I tried to group under different heads, according to the methods of constructive art criticism, certain works achieved under the direct influence of the master, and to combine the artistic individualities thus formed with such historical records as could be gathered from the earliest writers on those subjects. Unfortunately we have practically no signed works by those early painters, and absolutely trustworthy records of their lives and works are extremely scarce. Consequently many of my results are hypothetical and may be modified by later discoveries. I hope, nevertheless, that they may prove of some value for further studies by opening up an almost neglected field of Italian art history, and by indicating a way for future research.

Most of the work had to be built up from the ground, independently of whatever theories existed before about the same material. The attributions were to be proved by stylistic analysis in almost every instance. This may in part explain the rather too descriptive character of the book. The material was to be presented at some length, if my treatment were to become of value as a foundation for further study in the same field. I hope, indeed, that it soon will be possible to give a more synthetic account of Giotto's school, if not of the whole Florentine Trecento; but as yet there are too many unsolved historical problems and uncertain attributions to allow of such a presentation.

Another reason for a certain unevenness of this book may lie in the fact that it is in part constructed on some of my previous publications on Giotto (1906) and Giottino (1907). I now regard both those books as out of date and misleading in some of their statements; but they were nevertheless most valuable to me when I had to complete the present volume, or the lectures, within a very short time. I used parts of my previous publications as a kind of preparatory draft for this book, altering freely much of what I had written ten years earlier. But at the same time, I suppose a certain drawback was occasioned by the consultation of my older books — an influence which of course was not felt when composing the quite new, original chapters of the present work. It may thus truthfully be stated that the present book has not only been prepared during a considerable time, but written during nearly ten years, although the intervals in the work have been much longer than the periods of creative activity. I do not think this long period of preparation and work can be regarded as an advantage, in view of the lack of unity and concentration it brought about. But it may have been useful in so far as it has given me an opportunity to re-consider at different times some of my attributions and my theories about general stylistic development. I have found reason to modify some of my former views. On the other hand I have also in many cases been able to find new grounds for theories and attributions which I first divulged more than a decade ago. Unfortunately the great war has prevented me from going to Italy during the time when I have been most actively preparing the present volume; it is only too probable that some corrections and additions would have resulted from such a journey. They may perhaps find a place in a second volume on the later Florentine Trecento painters — if I ever manage to publish it. The material I have collected for such a volume is perhaps more extensive than that which has been used for the present work.

The present deplorable condition of international affairs has caused a considerable delay in the issue of this book. It was in great part set up in type during the spring and summer of 1916, but since I left America at the beginning of June great difficulties arose in the exchange of proofs. The mail service between Cambridge and Stockholm was extremely slow and uncertain; it took months for proofs to arrive and be returned; and some proofs never arrived at all. The prospect of seeing this book published within a year or two became darker every month so that I finally decided to come over

again to the place where it was printed. Returning to America, I have once more met with the greatest interest and zeal for this work on the part of the Harvard University Press.

A real loss to me was not to find Mr. Schenck at his usual occupations and free to assist in the final polishing of the proofs. He is at present engaged in more pleasant duties. But I had the good fortune to meet in New York Mr. Maurice W. Brockwell, of London, who undertook to read the final proofs. His very sensitive ear for English caused a few changes in expression. I feel much obliged to Mr. Brockwell for the value of the work that he has done on my book, thereby making it more serviceable to Europeans.

But the main credit rests with Mr. Frederic Schenck. Indeed, had it not been for him and my other friends of the Fine Arts Department at Harvard, the book would never have been achieved.

OSVALD SIRÉN.

NEW YORK, July 8, 1917.

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GIOTTO AND SOME OF HIS
FOLLOWERS



I

INTRODUCTION

DURING the early Middle Ages the development of Italian art, viewed as a whole, showed a constantly increasing withdrawal from nature. The late antique, as it appears in Roman and Pompeian art, was strongly naturalistic. Its particular strength lay, above all, in its virtuosity, in the extraordinary ease with which it solved the problem of pictorial illusion, in its suppleness and mobility in the interpretation of nature. It was an art which played with the means of expression, but rarely had anything of deeper meaning to impart. With the spread of Christianity, attention was turned more and more from the outer world to inner realities. The subjective emotional life became a more dominant influence in the productions of art. Forms, of course, change more slowly than emotional life, but nevertheless the transition went on, first in the East, later in the West—and its course was toward abstraction.

This is not the place to follow its development and the shifting periods of progress and decline; we need only bear in mind that when mediaeval art stood highest, as in Byzantium in the ninth century, it was also most untrammelled by nature, freest in its abstract symbolism. Technique and the means of expression (above all, the line) had attained such perfection that artists could really render in line and form intense emotional life, and interpret symbolically something of the ceremonial grandeur of Byzantine culture and its dream of hierarchical beauty. Artistic creation was then borne on a strong wave of emotion; and it matters little whether this be classified by later times as exotic or artificial, for it was in any case of such a nature that it demanded expression in genuine, artistic form.

In occidental art one can hardly detect any such general emotional ferment, with its resultant artistic revival, before the dawn of Gothic. If we turn especially to painting in Italy, it must be acknowledged that the best productions of the early Middle Ages were made under direct influence from the East, and to no small extent by resident Greek artists. The general tendency is, of course, nearly the same as in Byzantine art, but its trend away from nature

was not accompanied in Italian art by a corresponding refinement of abstract formulae. Artistic expression degenerated more and more into elementary symbolism, growing less expressive as the interest in nature and the ties with antiquity were loosened. Western art seems to have missed that stimulus of imaginative and emotional life which inspired the decorative splendor of the culture of the Eastern Empire. It drew no inspiration from gorgeous brocades, glittering jewels, all the refined conventionalism in the forms of life, which distinguished Byzantium, and it was lacking in feeling for the aesthetic significance of abstract line. The West sought representation, illustration, narrative.

Western art seems above all to have felt a much stronger need of fructification by nature than the Byzantine. When fresh blood was not introduced by such contact, this art generally became a more or less mechanical imitation of the works of the preceding generation. Imagination seemed to dry up, and technique to grow coarse, when it had no spur to new discoveries. The Italian artists of the ninth and tenth centuries had hardly anything original to give. How far they were behind their Byzantine models may be seen in the frescoes at Urbano alla Caffarella or in the paintings in the Sylvester Chapel at Quattro Coronati in Rome. The best painting done in Rome at this period was still the work of Greek artists.

It is important to bear in mind this general lassitude in order to estimate aright the new contributions made by the Italian painters of the thirteenth century. Their merit, generally speaking, was to reestablish art on a national basis, to free it from the fetters which for centuries had kept it prisoner to Byzantium. These painters of the thirteenth century are, therefore, to a certain extent, the heralds of a new era in Italian painting — a phase of development in which the general tendency may be regarded as opposite to that of the preceding period. Such masters as Giunta Pisano, Cimabue, and Guido of Siena, owe their historical interest to the expression they gave to something essentially Italian — to a dramatic or lyric pathos which does not vibrate in the works of Byzantine masters. They use to some extent the old formulae, but modified and tempered as was demanded by their emotional and imaginative life.

It was only in the nature of things that a reaction should follow. The abstract conventionalism of the artistic symbol had been carried to its extreme limit, and in clumsy hands had degenerated into schematism. The life of art had fallen below zero, and threatened to congeal entirely; the thaw was gradual, and more than one spring

day was necessary. The revivifying sun was the growing interest in nature and in human life.

In the thirteenth century a wave of emotional awakening swept over the land — a spiritual movement of the deepest significance in national life and art. The great representative of this revival of the spiritual and emotional life of the individual was, as is well known, St. Francis; but the saint of Assisi was no solitary instance, although the purest and most gifted representative of the new order. Many another could be found in the number of the friars, as well as among the nobles and citizens, who felt a new religious rapture, a new conception of life. The mighty wave of emotion which swept over southern and middle Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries found expression in many directions. In general history, it is most clearly marked by the Crusades; in the world history of art, by the birth of neo-Christian art — the Gothic.

In Italy this awakening is clearly discernible in the painting which grew up along with the preaching friars and their capacious edifices. It was called forth by inner as well as outer causes, and as soon as the requisite conditions were there, creative personalities appeared. It lay in the very nature of things that this revival should assume a national and local character, and lead to a stronger interest in the outer world. The real awakening, the impelling force, came from within as a part of the whole trend of the new civilization — but the new direction of evolution led outward toward objective reality. This development may be followed further, step by step, in the art of the fourteenth century, where the general tendency seems to be the attempt to attain ever stronger and more convincing expression for objective phenomena.

But along with this general evolution many deviations and individual variations appear, which lead into side-tracks and give no support to the naturalistic tendency. At all times there have been artists whose work has been more imaginative than realistic, and who have been more interested in inner than in outer reality.

It is, however, easy to see that the remaining values gained during this period, slowly preparing the dawn of the Renaissance, lay within the field of naturalistic representation. The decisive step by which art was absolutely freed from mediaeval traditions was of course taken shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century by the great masters, who devoted their best efforts to the development of such means as might serve in the representation of reality. There was

a time when artists were literally carried away by joy at the discovery of the richness and beauty of nature, the expressiveness of the human body, the pictorial qualities of light and shade, the illusive values of the laws of perspective and other similarly formal things. But, happily, there were creative geniuses strong enough to keep fresh the inner fountain of art, even during such a period of scientific drought.

Studying the leading artists of the fourteenth century, especially in Florence, one is constantly reminded of the conflict between pure, imaginative creation and the trend toward objective reality. The latter forms, as it were, the red thread of the evolution, but the imaginative, subjective element is naturally that which, above all, stamps the hall-mark of individual genius. The conflict is often more noticeable in these early works than in later ones, because the technical skill which conceals difficulties and arrests attention by naturalistic description is so much less developed. These early artists devote themselves mostly to traditional themes, employed for centuries, and containing a standardized symbolical meaning; they had, therefore, comparatively little occasion to linger over the historical or literary purport of the subject. The illustrative or descriptive element does not as yet absorb so much of the artist's power of creation as during the Quattrocento; suggestions only were given in places where later times gave complete descriptions; symbols of form, instead of full, naturalistic illusion. In many cases, perhaps, this was more a result of deficiency in technical and formal training than of conscious artistic effort, but it led nevertheless to concentration on what is artistically most important: the rhythmic values of design, the significant form. The creations of the great primitive masters are not weakened by disturbing elements of illustrative detail or objective illusion.

These general principles should be kept in mind when we proceed to a study of the Trecento painters. We must never expect from them that kind of illusion which the masters of later times have led us to associate with the art of painting, nor should we look for such abstract symbolism as the great painters of the earliest Middle Ages carried to relative perfection. The pictorial art of the fourteenth century forms a kind of transition between the subjective symbolism — the art of conventionalized line and decorative rhythm — and the representation of objective reality, as confirmed by our visual experience. These two basic elements appear, naturally, in different combinations and with varying degrees of strength

and importance in different individuals; they attain harmonious fusion only in the greatest. Giotto, for instance, is at the same time an intense, imaginative creator, giving his work a free, rhythmic form, and a convincing portrayer of fundamental objective values such as weight, mass, volume, and movement. His individual artistic greatness lies above all in his ability to transform the illustrative motifs into rhythmic values of line and form. His importance for subsequent development must, however, be sought in his new conquests in the realm of naturalistic representation.

II

THE FRESCOES IN THE UPPER CHURCH AT ASSISI

THE point of departure generally taken for the study of Giotto's art is the Upper Church of San Francesco in Assisi, for this contains works of two different generations: an older, which represents the art before Giotto, and a later, representing his own time. The later works are also generally attributed to Giotto himself. Latterly, however, strong doubts have been expressed regarding this attribution, which is not supported by any documentary or historical facts, but rests solely on ancient tradition, to a certain extent strengthened by comparisons of style.¹

We thus meet at the outset of the study of Giotto's art a problem of attribution on which we must endeavor to throw some light before we proceed to the analysis of works of more authentic character.

In order to understand the historical position and peculiar style of the Giottesque frescoes at Assisi, it is of course desirable to devote a closer study to the earlier frescoes in the same church, but as such a course would demand too much space, we must limit ourselves to noting briefly the principal groups into which these paintings may be divided, as well as their general connection with the later frescoes ascribed to Giotto.

The earliest frescoes are without doubt Cimabue's paintings in the choir: grand, decorative compositions, full of strong dramatic pathos, and marked throughout by a strongly individual, linear style. The second group consists of frescoes in the eastern part of the nave, evidently executed in connection with Cimabue's work, but by weaker artists of his following. In some of these paintings we can trace a resemblance to the style of Jacopo Torriti, as we know it from his mosaics in Rome. The last group is confined to the west end of the nave, beginning on the northern wall with the history of Isaac and Jacob, and on the southern wall with the representation

¹ For an account of the historical facts relating to the paintings in San Francesco in Assisi see Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1885, and Venturi, *La Basilica d'Assisi*.

The most comprehensive criticism of the traditional attribution of the paintings is to be found in Rintelen, *Giotto und Giotto Apocryphen*, München, 1912.

of the Pietà. The four figures in the vaulting of the western bay are closely connected with these in style. It is apparent that several artists were active with this group too, but they all represent one school or common style, closely connected with the Roman artist, Pietro Cavallini. These frescoes show most striking affinities with the St. Francis pictures. They thus become of the greatest historical and stylistic interest when we face the question of Giotto's work at Assisi. They are, however, so badly damaged that they afford only fragmentary material for formal analysis.

If we take the best preserved, namely the pictures from the story of Isaac and Jacob, we find in them strong points of resemblance to the authentic work of Pietro Cavallini, the fragment of his Last Judgment in St. Cecilia in Trastevere. The apostles, which are here still extant, are nearly related to the main figures at Assisi (Pl. 1).

In both cases the statuesque cast of the figures, evidently inspired by Roman sculpture, is characteristic, and the stately frames draped in Roman togas, the fine heads which often look as if molded in bronze, the details of the faces — the high forehead, the straight, short nose, the well formed ears, the small mouth — also closely correspond. As far as a master's identity can be proved by morphological details, it appears incontestable. It seems, however, that the St. Cecilia frescoes reveal a softer and broader brush-work. The difference may be the result of the better protection given to these pictures, which have not been so exposed to wind and weather or subjected to such vandalism in restoration as the Assisi frescoes. The intimate connection of school cannot, however, be overlooked.

To gain an idea of the artistic style and the manner of expression in the St. Francis frescoes it is not expedient to study them in the chronological order in which the events are unfolded, beginning on the northern wall next the choir and continuing to the corresponding point on the southern. It is more to the purpose to choose some characteristic pictures out of the series, unless we go over all of it several times. Turning from an attentive study of the Isaac frescoes and the representations of the Church Fathers in the western bay, we at once observe essential similarities of style in the St. Francis frescoes. A typical example is the representation of St. Francis and his followers before Pope Innocent III, receiving permission to preach (Pl. 2). The picture is near the middle of the northern wall. The Pope seated on his throne and blessing the kneeling friars is exactly the same figure as the St. Gregory in the vault.

The chiseled type with the straight nose pinched at the root, the long eyebrows almost grown together, the sharp stroke above the mouth, the perfect oval of the face — all these features are absolutely alike in the two figures. The same is true of the treatment of the drapery. The sharply pressed folds, broadly painted with strong lights, giving the impression of a material harder than cloth, appear to have been done after the same pattern, and by the same hand.

Looking more carefully to see how the fresco is composed, we find that the artist took pains to represent a complete interior. He has attained partial success by introducing deep arches borne on consoles, intended to support the ceiling, but valuable chiefly in giving an added impression of depth to the stage. The point of vision is taken in the center, the side walls are equally foreshortened. The arches and consoles are richly adorned with cosmati-work, exactly like that on Gregory's throne; the walls are covered with costly hangings. The figures are not drawn from the same viewpoint as the interior. They stand in no organic relation to the room, but rather give the impression of being stuck on. There are two groups: on one side the Franciscan friars; on the other, the Pope with the chamberlains and cardinals in waiting. A connection is established by the gestures of the chief figures, but we receive no impression of the importance of the occasion, this remarkable fulfillment of St. Francis' deepest longing. The group of friars suffers from absolute monotony, emphasized by a similarity in gesture; the Pope's followers are standing by, as perfectly indifferent witnesses. A certain doll-like unreality attaches to all the figures, not so much because of their deficient psychological expression as because they do not form links in an organic composition. They have been put there to illustrate the story, but they do not coöperate towards a dramatic unity.

Let us now choose instead of an interior a picture representing outdoor incidents, to see whether its tridimensional space composition is better executed. St. Francis Renouncing his Worldly Possessions (Pl. 3) is one of the most dramatic scenes in the whole legend. The young man's enthusiasm drives him to take off his garments, abjure his earthly father, and entrust himself wholly to his Father in Heaven. The action is in an open place in Assisi, flanked by two buildings probably intended to represent his father's house and some church. These two architectural wings are remarkably weak, not only because of their improbable relation to the figures (in this respect they follow the custom of the time) but still more because of their

arbitrary construction. They seem to be made of a lot of smaller parts pasted together at surprising angles of perspective. The artist insists on a mass of minutely decorated detail, but fails to give an appearance of probability to the whole construction. He cannot draw a single column that carries weight, or a roof that really rests upon the walls. The figures are again divided into two groups: Bernardone with his followers upon one side, and, on the other, St. Francis with his followers, foremost among them the bishop who is wrapping the youth in his mantle.

The father holds the clothes which his son has taken off on one arm and raises the other to strike, but is restrained by a more cautious citizen. The son lifts his hands to heaven in supplication. The contrast is undeniably effective, but one has a feeling that the action stopped with this tableau. There is no trace of any deeper emotion or dramatic tension reflected in those present, if we disregard the gestures of the two principal actors. The bishop looks petrified, like a sharply chiseled statue from a Gothic niche. His two canons belong in the same category. The people behind the father are crowded so close together that not one of them could possibly move. Nothing stands out except a few bronze-colored busts of the same type as in the Isaac pictures. The striking similarity in expression, types, and positions of the heads led me years ago to suppose that this painting, like the greater number of the frescoes of this series, had been much altered by a restoration which accentuated the statuesque rigidity of the figures and the mask-like uniformity of the faces. A later examination has, however, led me to a somewhat different opinion. The paintings have certainly suffered considerably, both by the peeling off of the colors in some places and by the retouching, but the repainting cannot be said to have entirely altered the character of their style. The frescoes still give us the impression of some one master's individual manner.

Another of the earliest illustrations in the series represents St. Francis giving his mantle to a poor man who once was rich (Pl. 4). The composition is remarkably well constructed. The youthful saint is placed in the middle of the foreground: on one side of him stands the old man bending forward to receive the gift, on the other side is the horse; all three figures are on the nearest plane of the foreground. Behind them are steep mountains rising toward the upper corners; the two dominating diagonals cross right over St. Francis' head. There is undeniably something grand in this landscape, and it has considerable decorative effect in its careful

balance. But here again, as in the preceding pictures, the figures and the landscape (with its architecture) form two entirely different elements, imagined and drawn independently of each other, and then loosely joined. A certain harmony of line here forms a basis for a unified, decorative effect, but the space composition is very defective, and the figures fall out of the picture.

A picture which, although it is among the most entertaining of the series, shows the artist's inability to carry out an organic space composition, is *Christmas Night in Greccio* (Pl. 5). The artist has here set himself a problem which clearly exceeds his powers. The scene is laid in the choir of a church, which is meant to be separated from the nave by a high masonry choirscreen. On this screen is fastened a crucifix which, like the pulpit, is seen from behind. In the choir stand the altar, covered by a Gothic tabernacle resting on four slender columns, and the great lectern. All this is depicted most carefully: the decoration of the tabernacle with reliefs and cosmati-work, the graceful garlands, the embroideries of the altar cloth, the screens and candles of the choir pulpit, and the wooden ribs of the crucifix. The artist could not have taken greater pains to evoke tangible impressions of reality, but his intention, so well carried out in detail, is entirely missed in the whole. There is really no room for these tightly packed friars, priests, and spectators. Those who stand in the front row give the impression of broad, flat dolls, and of the others only the busts can be seen between the shoulders of those in front. Whether they really have any bodies, or legs to stand on seems uncertain. Nor is any greater depth suggested by the open door in the background, through which the inquisitive women are streaming in. The figures lack body. But the artist has brought out so skilfully all the captivating and wonderful features of the story, so clearly portrayed the singing friars, the busy priests, and St. Francis with the Christ-child in his arms, as well as all the accessories, that one at first scarcely looks for an organic structure in the composition, or a unified effect which might be produced by figures entering as cubic forms into the architectural setting. It is only on closer analysis that the fundamental weaknesses become apparent; this is the case with almost all these frescoes. The illustrative element is, however, usually so important that the stricter artistic requirements may easily be overlooked.

A typical picture is *St. Francis before the Sultan* (Pl. 6), ready to go through the ordeal by fire. The composition is clearly divided

into three groups: on the right, the sultan on his throne, surrounded by his bodyguard; in the center, St. Francis, with a brother; to the left, the shrinking Mohammedan priests. The meaning is made quite clear by the movement of the principal personages. But on looking closer, one finds that the figures are little more than mannikins, lacking such deeper artistic expressiveness as might be produced by their coöperation in a unified space composition. Where, for instance, have the attendants crowded behind the sultan any room to stand? Are they not arbitrarily jammed in and cut off? The friar behind St. Francis is a quite bodiless shadow, and of the Mohammedan priests it is only the foremost who betrays any third dimension. The two crowded behind him give the impression of meaningless, formal repetition, weakening, rather than strengthening, the effect of the awkward movement of the first. The artist does not seem to have known or cared anything about their organic structure or physical qualities; they are, to him, rather actors in a shadow play, comprehensible, but not convincing, lacking the power to suggest the strong and wonderful drama of the soul. Neither do the architectural elements strengthen the impression of reality: rather the contrary. Both the sultan's throne and the peculiar loggia-formed building, which has an oriental look about it, are so falsely drawn that one fears they may collapse. The artist's principal object again seems to be embellishment — the glass and marble mosaic, the coffered vault, the crockets upon the gable and the statues which terminate the pillars of the pagoda — details without any noticeable connection.

A picture of remarkably good dramatic action represents the death of the knight of Celano (Pl. 7). The repast is over, the knight has confessed, and is now lying dead on the floor. St. Francis rises from the table, apparently explaining the situation to the reproachful man who turns toward the saint as he points to the dead body. By the action of the man, the connection between the two principal figures, the saint and the knight, is established, and the chief diagonal is brought out. The same concentration of action down toward the right-hand corner is further accentuated by the women who are rushing in, forming a compact mass in contrast to the commanding solitary figure of the saint. There is something suggestive in the uniform movement of the women, despite their stiffness. The first impression is decidedly felicitous. On closer examination, however, one cannot help noticing the poverty of invention, the monotonous similarity of position, and the arbitrary mutilation of the figures.

The faces, and especially those of the women rushing in, have the common stereotyped character; a grimace is all that enlivens them. The room is indicated by a recess furnished with the bench and the dining-table, and covered by a barrel vault, which carries an overhanging loggia. The whole arrangement makes an unreal impression, and once more indicates the artist's incapacity to represent the determining factors in the construction of a room.

In the representation of the expulsion of the demons from Arezzo (Pl. 8), the artist has laid particular stress upon the drawing of the city and the church outside of it. He has endeavored to give as far as possible an accurate picture of Arezzo, or at least a view of a characteristic mediaeval city, crowned by towers, roof-loggias, etc., but in so doing he has lost himself in a confusion of angles and forms resembling paper houses loosely pasted together and piled on top of each other. The positions and gestures of the figures are undeniably expressive, especially the commanding gesture of the standing Sylvester, which continues the rising line from the kneeling Francis. It really becomes clear that the will and power of these two monks is directed upward, toward the fleeing demons. But the elements of composition are not fused into a complete whole — each stands by itself; the city, the church, the figures, their grouping in the picture, are illustrative, not artistically significant.

The artist is decidedly most successful when he employs as few figures as possible. His deficient knowledge of unified space composition makes it impossible for him to control the problem of a great mass of figures. But single figures may, through their positions and gestures, be made very effective. We have seen examples in the picture just described, and we find them still more striking in the celebrated representation of St. Francis calling forth water from the rock to quench the thirst of the mule-driver (Pl. 9). Ever since the days of Vasari, the stooping man, who is so eagerly lapping the fresh, gushing water, has been considered a masterpiece of naturalistic design. The effectiveness, however, is entirely in the expressive silhouette — no further characterization is to be found. The position of the figure, also, is hardly intelligible. Where is his other leg? St. Francis has been impressively placed higher up on the cliff. The upward striving movement of the figure, and above all, of its lifted arms, is emphasized by the rock rising like a pyramid. But where is St. Francis' other arm? Is it quite concealed by the one in front? The two friars with the donkey, behind him, form a significant support, a strengthening foil.

The frescoes which we have mentioned show a rather homogeneous style. Even if they were not entirely executed by the same hand, they are still so similar in composition, type, proportions of the figures, landscape, and architectural motifs, that we must conclude that they were done under the direction of one artist. He has left the mark of his own personality upon the works. This group, uniform in style, does not, however, comprise all the pictures belonging to the legend of St. Francis. The characteristic features are not to be found in the first, or in the last nine, pictures (Pl. 20-28), where divergences are noticeable, both in the method of composition and in the style of the figures themselves, which clearly indicate that several masters were occupied with the execution of the St. Francis legend.

The greatest divergence from the style of figures just described appears in the last four pictures, all representing miracles performed by St. Francis after his death and also in the first of the series, which shows the youthful Francis honored by a man who spreads out his cloak before him in the market-place of Assisi (Pl. 10). These five pictures are distinguished by a far more elegant and supple style than the others.

The difference can easily be seen in the first picture of the series. The six figures here presented are divided into two corresponding groups with an open place between them. There is no crowding; on the contrary there is plenty of space; St. Francis is really moving hurriedly forward. In the middle background stands Assisi's well known Temple of Minerva, its open colonnade adding depth to the picture. The tall, mediaeval buildings on both sides are also less artificial than the buildings in the other pictures; they betray more architectural feeling. Figures and buildings combine more organically to create an impression of space. The composition is without question the best of the whole series. Were all as good as this one, there would be less temptation to question the attribution to Giotto.

However, the style of the figures in these frescoes also is quite different from what we find later in Giotto's work. The elongated proportions of the figures, their small heads, and elegant hands and feet, the lively gestures, the graceful movements — all combined give them an individual stamp which does not correspond with Giotto's art, but rather with that of the so-called St. Cecilia-master.

The great picture in the Uffizi, from which this anonymous master is generally named, shows the same proportions of figure still more exaggerated. In the center St. Cecilia is seated on a marble throne

of peculiarly slender form and delicate detail. The small, frail hands of the saint and her narrow face with its long, thin nose, vividly recall the types in the above-mentioned frescoes. The peculiar style of the artist's figures appears, however, still more distinctly in the eight small scenes, four on each side of the large figure. They display a suppleness and mobility which distinguish them from the work of other known masters of the fourteenth century. The excellent relation between the figures and the architecture is especially noticeable. Both are decidedly attenuated, fragile, and delicate, but they form organic parts of compositions which display a marked tridimensional character. All these small pictures show such an unusual solution of the problem of space that we scarcely find anything comparable in Florentine art before the middle of the fourteenth century. Two pictures in Santa Margherita a Montici, outside of Florence — a Madonna, and the patron saint, with six scenes from her life — betray the same mannerisms, the same "Empire"-like figures and slender, architectural forms as the Cecilia picture. Among the other works of the same artist there deserve mention a smaller Madonna surrounded by saints, in the Museum of Budapest; a heavily restored picture representing San Miniato and scenes from his life, in the church of the same name; and an enthroned St. Peter in the church of San Simone in Florence. Both the latter have suffered considerably from restoration, but the picture of St. Peter is especially important in this connection, as it bears the date 1301.

Even the most cursory glance at the last four frescoes leaves no doubt that they are executed by the St. Cecilia-master. The style of his figures and the supple and individual manner of composition are unmistakable. Furthermore, he appears here as a captivating narrator with a capacity for spirited psychological characterization. The portrayal of St. Francis' visit to the patient who had been given up by the doubting physician is strikingly brought out in two groups: the saint and the angels by the sick-bed, and the physician who evidently gives the two questioning women to understand that he can no longer do anything. In the representation of the confession of the woman raised from the dead the artist has really hit off wonderfully the fat father-confessor, and at the same time has given a lively portrayal of the amazement of the spectators. In both cases he has painted high rooms as stages for the events and has introduced the figures in these spacious interiors in a natural manner.

In comparison with this virtuoso in composition¹ the second artist, who executed frescoes 20-24, all referring to the death and canonization of St. Francis, appears somewhat fumbling, heavy, and more primitive. His compositions are crowded with figures so tightly packed that there could be no possibility of movement. The figures are elongated, recalling the St. Cecilia-master, though they have not his elegance and grace. They are throughout stiffer, and form a kind of transition to those we have seen in the other frescoes of St. Francis. The problem of space has not been solved with any particular success. In the pictures which represent the death of St. Francis (Pl. 14) the body lies outstretched on a bier in the foreground with several friars kneeling or sitting round it. The artist, wishing to represent farther back a body of priests, monks, and choir-boys celebrating the mass of the dead, has resorted to the primitive device of placing the figures upon a higher level.

If we endeavor to sum up our impressions of the St. Francis frescoes in the Upper Church of Assisi, we must first acknowledge that at least three different artists have been employed on these paintings. From the beginning a scheme was probably drawn up for the twenty-eight different scenes from the life of the saint, a scheme thought out in detail by those who had in mind the best interests of the Church and the Order.

We have here the most complete series known of scenes from the life of St. Francis, which for several centuries after remained a model. This series certainly was not fixed upon for any artistic reasons. Giotto's importance as the painter of St. Francis' life and St. Francis' importance in the development of Giotto's art of representation are, on the whole, matters where feeling and imagination have to a great degree taken the place of facts. But the series probably received its canonical form under the direction of the authorities of the Order.

If we are right in this supposition, it becomes even more probable that several artists were employed at the same time in the church. The work was so comprehensive that it naturally was essential to call upon several hands for its execution. It is scarcely necessary to recall similar collaborations at a later period, for instance, the decoration of the walls of the Sistine Chapel by different Florentine and Umbrian masters of the fifteenth century. In Assisi, however, the

¹ I am inclined to share the opinion of Professor Venturi that the St. Cecilia-master should be identified with the famous painter Buffalmacco of whose activities Vasari has so many stories to relate. Cf. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, v, 290.

style is more uniform in character and a great majority of the paintings seem to have been executed under the direction of the same master. This artist who held a leading position in the execution of frescoes 2-20 constitutes the central problem for stylistic analysis. It is he who has been traditionally identified with Giotto, and is regarded as the pioneer of a new epoch in painting.

We have seen that the paintings of this master are very closely related to the other paintings in the western portions of the church, especially the pictures of Isaac and Joseph, the Pietà, the Ascension, the Pentecost, as well as the Church Fathers on the vaulting. This connection has been strongly insisted upon by several critics. No one who has studied the paintings in the Upper Church of St. Francis can overlook it, though the conclusions which have been drawn have been rather varying and contradictory. Some students have supposed that the St. Francis-master was a close follower of the painter of the earlier frescoes; others have considered the painter to be the same in both cases, whether it was Giotto or another.

To express any decided opinion on this point is most difficult, owing to the imperfect preservation of the other paintings. The correspondence in types, in the proportions of the figures, in the treatment of drapery, and in technique, especially between the Church Fathers in the western vault and certain of the St. Francis frescoes, are certainly striking, but not sufficient to establish the identity of the artist; they may be explained by an intimate relationship of school. This school must then be called Roman, for, from what we have seen, the Isaac frescoes and the others of the same group are so closely related to the extant paintings by Pietro Cavallini in St. Cecilia in Trastevere, that his collaboration in Assisi seems plausible. The painter of the legend of St. Francis is clearly an artist of principally Roman training. His liking for Roman cosmati-work, his taste for rich and stately accessories, the statuesque character of his figures, and the rather stereotyped, regular features, which like Cavallini's types seems strongly influenced by antique art, all prove decisively his connection with Rome.

In our analysis of the pictures we have endeavored to lay stress on this artist's remarkable interest in realistic detail, combined with a poor control of unified space composition. He draws architecture and landscapes with accuracy and fullness; at times he finds expressive pose and gesture for the principal figures, though

he is unable to represent several figures in action, and he does not know how to develop dramatic situation by the use of subsidiary figures. He cannot represent an assembly of people in a clear and graphic manner, for he has never fully grasped the human figure as a cubic reality. The rhythmic construction of the composition which we shall find so strongly developed in Giotto's Padua frescoes is missing in the St. Francis pictures. Despite many interesting features, we can rarely escape the impression that we are facing large illustrations in which the literary text outweighs the formal conception of the artist. The power to captivate and transmute the intense conception of form, which fuses all into an organic work of art — no matter whether the elements are realistic or literary — is lacking here. The artist's talent seems to go in a rather superficially decorative or literary direction, not towards any deeper pictorial conception of the problems of form and space. Viewed in this light he cannot be called a precursor of Giotto's later work. It seems hard to account for these deficiencies as the imperfections of an inexperienced beginner or a servile follower of prototypes. One is not struck by any lack of artistic ability, any particular uncertainty in the forms of expression. The figures as well as the architectural motifs exhibit considerable skill for the time; the former are in several cases quite brilliantly drawn, the latter are often rich and varied to excess. The artist who has worked here shows no lack of training, his deficiency does not lie on the surface, but in artistic conception, in that creative power of imagination which transforms the surface of a painting into a composition full of rhythmic expression. How this can be accomplished even with rather limited means and unmodulated detail, we can learn best from Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel at Padua.

In considering the date of the St. Francis frescoes, the relation of their style to Pietro Cavallini's paintings of the thirteenth century in Rome hardly allows us to advance them much beyond 1300. The collaboration of the St. Cecilia-master (Pl. 12-13) also points to a period about 1300 or in the first decade of the fourteenth century. As soon as we reach the second and third decades of the century, we find a Giottesque school that had developed different principles of composition. The Legend of St. Francis must have been painted before the influence of the mature Giotto had gained its powerful ascendancy in Trecento art, and not least in Assisi. But it is conceivable that its execution occupied a number of years and suffered from interruptions, which would make the work unequal.

Did the youthful Giotto really begin to paint here? The possibility of this traditional assumption is, of course, not excluded by our previous analysis of the St. Francis pictures, though it is not in accordance with our general conception of Giotto's art. In any case his work was soon broken off and then so completely retouched by other artists and restorers that individual characteristics or tangible traces of his work in the Upper Church of Assisi are hardly discernible.

III

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON GIOTTO

ALTHOUGH it is not our intention to offer a complete monograph on Giotto, we feel that it might be helpful to present a few biographical notes, for the benefit of those who have not had access to the original sources, on Giotto's life and works. The historical material is unfortunately scanty. Giotto's personality was already a topic for discussion among the authors of the fourteenth century, but it so happens that the greater part of the stories attached to the famous painter must be relegated to the province of myth. They make it evident that Giotto was early assigned a seat of honor among Italy's "uomini famosi," but they contribute very little to an estimate of his artistic importance.

Dante, as we know, names Giotto as the painter who "hath the cry" in his day ("ed ora ha Giotto il grido"), obscuring the fame of Cimabue. (*Purgatorio* XI, 94-96.) Petrarch and Boccaccio hail him as the reviver of art.¹ Filippo Villani ranks Giotto higher than any of the masters of antiquity² and Cristoforo Landino, in his commentary on Dante, compares Giotto to the Trojan horse, for out of him issued all later painters.³ The anecdotes in Franco Sacchetti's *Novelle* did still more to popularize Giotto for posterity.

The date of Giotto's birth remains in doubt. Vasari says that he was born in 1276, but Antonio Pucci, a younger contemporary of Giotto's, writes in his "Centiloquio" (a versified adaptation of Giovanni Villani's *Florentine Chronicle*), that Giotto was seventy years old in 1337, which would set back the date of his birth to 1267. The question cannot be settled in the absence of documentary evidence. On account of Giotto's position in art one is tempted to adopt Vasari's statement, but Pucci, as the older authority, naturally has the greater claim to trustworthiness.

A notice in a martyrology in the archives of St. Peter's, written on July 10, 1342, in reference to the death of Cardinal Jacopo Gaetano Stefaneschi a short time before, is usually made the basis

¹ Cf. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei Professori di disegno*, i, 40 ff.

² "De Viris Illustribus," in vol. vii of *Croniche Storiche di Giovanni, Matteo, e Filippo Villani*, Milan, 1848, p. 47.

³ Landino's *Commentaries on Dante*, numerous editions, e.g., Venice, 1529.

of the assumption that Giotto visited Rome between 1298 and 1300. The notice in question, however, simply states that the cardinal had an altarpiece made for St. Peter's by the famous painter Giotto, at the same time as the so-called Navicella mosaic, but it gives no definite date for these works.¹ We shall subsequently concern ourselves more closely with the altarpiece; as for the Navicella mosaic, which was moved to the portico of the new St. Peter's, it has been so altered by restoration that it has lost all value for the criticism of Giotto's art. The composition can now best be studied in the old drawings, of which one is in the Chatsworth collection and another in the *Codice Barberiniano* in the Vatican Library.

It is, however, possible that Giotto was living in Rome about 1300, the year of the great Jubilee, when Pope Boniface VIII built, among other things, a loggia at the Lateran Basilica, which, according to contemporary authorities, was decorated by Giotto with three frescoes, showing the Pope proclaiming the Jubilee, the baptism of the Emperor Constantine, and the laying of the foundations of the Lateran Church. Of the first of these frescoes a fragment remains, which has been moved inside the church.² It represents the Pope standing on a balcony with three priests, one of whom reads aloud the Jubilee proclamation. The painting has, however, been completely ruined by successive restorations and therefore need not concern us further.

During the next period of his activity Giotto seems to have spent most of his time in northern and eastern Italy. We know that the Arena Chapel in Padua was begun in the year 1303 and was entirely finished in time to be consecrated in March, 1305.³ Presumably Giotto painted his frescoes there about 1304-05, an assumption based on strong probability, and accepted almost unanimously by the writers on Giotto. How long he remained in Padua we do not know, but following the consensus of opinion of the older authors such as Riccobaldo Ferrarese, Lorenzo Ghiberti, and the so-called "Anonimo Morelliano," we have good reason to suppose that he executed a number of other works besides the frescoes in the Arena Chapel. The two first-named authorities mention paintings in the

¹ Cf. Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, v, 294; also G. de Nicola in *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 339.

² An old drawing reproducing the whole of the second composition is preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. It has been published by Eugène Müntz in *Melanges d'Archeologie et d'Histoire*, 1881. According to Müntz the picture bore the inscription, *Dominus Bonifacius Papa VIII facit totum opus praesentis thalami An. dni. MCCC.*

³ Lo Scardeone, *De Antiquitate urbis Patavii*, 1560, published an inscription according to which the foundations of the Arena Chapel were laid in 1303. It was consecrated on March 16, 1305. Cf. Andrea Moschetti, *La Cappella degli Scrovegni*, Florence, 1904.

Palazzo del Commune (also called the Palazzo della Ragione), of which no trace remains; the "Anonimo Morelliano," writing in the first half of the sixteenth century (independently of Vasari) tells us that "nel Capitolo la Passione a fresco fu de mano di Giotto Fiorentino."¹ This can hardly refer to any thing other than the chapter hall at San Antonio. Very probably that great room was once decorated with scenes from the life of Christ and the history of the Franciscan Order. But the paintings have been lost, except for two pictures on an end wall, representing the stigmatization of St. Francis and the martyrdom of the Franciscans at Ceuta, besides eight figures of saints. These frescoes have evidently been freed from a coat of plaster in the course of a modern restoration of the hall, which has suffered harsh treatment, among other things the ravages of fire. The paintings are considerably renewed, but their style indicates clearly that they were originally the work of a great master. It is quite possible that they are among the wreckage of Giotto's work.

Shortly before, or perhaps shortly after, his activity in Padua, Giotto seems to have been at Rimini. This appears from the *Compilatio Chronologica* of the Ferrarese author Riccobaldo, concluded in 1313. The mention of Giotto, which seems to have been entered as early as 1305, is of the greatest interest as the oldest reference to the artist's work that we now possess. It reads as follows: "Zottus pictor eximus florentinus agnoscitur; qualis in arte fuerit testantur opera facta per eum in ecclesia Minorum Assisii, Arimini, Padua, ac per ea quae pinxit in palatio communis Paduae et in ecclesia Arene Paduae."² Unfortunately the author does not further specify the works in Rimini and Assisi to which he refers; the former seem, in any case, to have been utterly destroyed. San Francesco in Rimini was burnt out in the first half of the fourteenth century. Whatever the reference to the Assisi pictures may mean, it can hardly apply to anything except Giotto's participation in some of the frescoes of St. Francis, for the other pictures there are of later date. It would, however, be discordant with modern scholarly methods to reckon the St. Francis frescoes as Giotto's work solely on the grounds of such an assertion by an ancient chronicler. An attribution must stand primarily on criticism of style; and as we have seen, it is very difficult to base a definite

¹ Cf. Anonimo Morelliano, *Notizie d'opere di disegno*, pubblicata di D. Jacopo Morelli, ed. Frizzoni, Bologna, 1884.

² Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Scriptores IX*, Mediolani, 1726. Cf. Rintelen, *Giotto*, p. 178, and notes. Rintelen gives a more correct interpretation of the passage than the one usually followed which was given by Milanesi in his notes to Vasari (cf. Vasari, ed. Sansoni, i, 392).

attribution on the style of pictures in such condition as that of the Assisi frescoes as they now stand. We have insisted that Giotto's collaboration in the St. Francis series is conceivable, but not evident, because of the lack of the characteristics which distinguish Giotto's later authentic works. Despite Riccobaldo's statement (which is not substantiated by any document), we must, therefore, leave unsolved the problem of Giotto's share in the St. Francis frescoes; their style, as they now appear, is in no wise such as to increase our admiration for the great artist.

In 1312 Giotto seems to have been back in Florence, for on the fifteenth of June of that year Rinuccio di Puccio del Mugnaio donates a sum of money to Santa Maria Novella to supply oil for a lamp to burn before a crucifix which he is having made by "Giottus Bondonis de Florentia."¹ Vasari also mentions this crucifix in Santa Maria Novella, and adds that it was made by Giotto and Puccio Capanna in collaboration. The only Trecento crucifix which is now to be found in that church is a rather feeble performance, somewhat altered by restoration, and showing no pronounced Giottesque character.

Another legal document makes it evident that Giotto was not living in his native city during the year 1318: by this document he gives his daughter Bice a farm near San Michele di Aglione, but in order to do so he has to get his son Tommaso to surrender his claim.²

In 1328 Giotto was called to Naples by King Robert of Anjou and remained there for at least four years. A document dated January 21, 1330, signed by the king describes Giotto as "Magister Joctus de Florentia pictor, familiaris et fidelis noster," distinguished for his wise deeds and his fruitful activity, "ipsum in familiarem nostrum recipimus et de nostro hospicio retinemus." The artist is accordingly to receive the same benefits as other intimates of the family. The records of a lawsuit establish Giotto's presence in Naples two years later.³

No artistic remains of Giotto's sojourn with King Robert now exist; all that he is said to have painted in the royal residence, Castel Nuovo (a series of "uomini famosi") in Santa Chiara, and perhaps in other churches in Naples, has been lost,⁴ a loss all the more deplorable because these works would probably have supplied us with

¹ Cf. Milanesi, notes to Vasari, i, 394.

² Cf. Crowe e Cavalcaselle, *Storia*, i, 506, note.

³ Cf. Crowe e Cavalcaselle, *Storia*, i, 546. Document first published by H. W. Schultz, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*.

⁴ Cf. Venturi, *Storia*, v, 448, note.

examples of the fully mature style of Giotto's old age. The only memorials of the artist's Neapolitan period that survive are the anecdotes which Vasari retails, presenting Giotto in the rôle of an extraordinarily quick-witted conversationalist.

Giotto was finally honored by the city of his birth with the title of City Architect. On April 12, 1334, the "Consiglio della Città di Firenze" passed the following resolution: "In order that the works which are being undertaken in the city of Florence and are to be carried out for the benefit of the commune may proceed in the most perfect manner, which is not possible unless an experienced and eminent man is chosen as leader in these works; and as in the whole world there is to be found none better qualified for that, and for much besides, than Master Giotto di Bondone, the painter of Florence, he shall therefore be named in his native city as *Magnus Magister* and publicly regarded as such, so that he may have occasion to abide here; for by his presence many can have the advantage of his wisdom and learning, and the city shall gain no small honor because of him. Wherefore it is provided, ordained, and resolved, that the Lords Priors, the Gonfaloniere *Justitiae* and the Council of the twelve *Viri Boni*, in the name of the City, select and designate Master Giotto as leader and master for the building operations at the Church of Santa Reparata, and for the construction and completion of the city walls and fortifications, and for other works for the aforesaid Commune."¹

This document is interesting not only because it attests full appreciation on the part of the Florentines of the great master's unusual artistic importance, and their endeavor to retain him as an adornment and an honor to the city, but also because it gives proof that Giotto was well known as an architect. The only building which can be ascribed to Giotto on historical evidence is the Campanile of the Cathedral of Florence. We know that the corner-stone of this stately building was laid on the eighteenth of July, 1334, while Giotto was Capomaestro. Attempts have been made to identify a drawing now in the Opera del Duomo at Siena as the master's original plan. The drawing presents a typical Gothic bell-tower with a lofty spire, quite unlike the existing Campanile. If the assumption is correct that Giotto made this sketch, it is evident that the succeeding masterbuilders, Andrea Pisano and Francesco Talenti, did not feel themselves bound by their predecessor's plan. Only the two lower stories of the Campanile, as it now stands, were completed in Giotto's time.

¹ Cf. Baldinucci, i, 39.

Possibly Giotto took a hand in the execution of the earliest reliefs on the Campanile; Ghiberti says expressly, "le prime storie furono di sua mano scolpite e disegnate" and repeats the statement in his account of Andrea Pisano's work, where he writes, "Giotto, si dice, sculpi le prime due storie." These two first reliefs represent the creation of man and the creation of woman, and to these is added a third, showing man's first labors. If Giotto did the first two, he must have done the third also, for they all show the same individual characteristics of style. The figures are full and softly rounded, the treatment of drapery is flowing, the composition is distinguished by more harmonious beauty than in the subsequent reliefs. Even if Giotto himself did not carve them — which is hardly probable when we consider his age — he may have furnished the drawings for them. They show good evidence of his plastic genius.

Giotto died on January 8, 1337.

The only one of the earlier accounts of Giotto's work which has any value as a historical source is Ghiberti's; the later authors, such as the "Anonimo Magliabechiano" (*Codice*, xvii, 17)¹ and Vasari, have made free use of Ghiberti's statements, which they have elaborated and combined with less reliable traditions. Vasari was evidently anxious not to pass over briefly such an important artist as Giotto, and consequently produced a biography rich in anecdote but deficient in exact information. Only so far as they are supported by Ghiberti can Vasari's assertions be conceded historical plausibility; we may therefore ignore the popular biography and confine ourselves to the more significant portions of Ghiberti's *Commentarii* on the work of Giotto.² Meanwhile it should be emphasized that even Ghiberti wrote more than a hundred years after Giotto's death; his statements often partake of the nature of tradition rather than of historical fact. It is plain that Giotto, like other great artists, gradually became the subject of a local legend, which made him responsible for far more work than ever was executed by his own hand. His name acquired a sort of collective signification, which was the more natural on account of his position at the head of a whole school, a new group of artists, whose personalities were far less known than the master's. We consequently cannot assume that all the works

¹ Cf. *Il Codice Magliabechiano*, ed. C. Frey, Berlin, 1913.

² Cf. *Vita di Lorenzo Ghiberti, con i Commentarj*, ed. C. Frey, Berlin, 1886. A later edition by J. von Schlosser is accompanied by valuable historical notes and misleading attributions.

which Ghiberti assembles under Giotto's name were really done by him; many of them were presumably executed by assistants, merely under the guidance of the master. Individual attributions, especially in the case of such an early painter as Giotto, cannot be based on the opinions of ancient authorities — even if they are as accurate as Ghiberti — but must be justified by critical analysis of style. The historic traditions are none the less of great interest, for they reflect the contemporary appreciation of the artist's importance and of his comprehensive activity.

Ghiberti first tells the traditional story of how Cimabue, wandering one day toward the village of Vespignano, near Florence, found a shepherd lad drawing a sheep on a flat stone, and how, recognizing the boy's unusual gift, he proposed to his father, a peasant named Bondone, that he should take the lad home and teach him the craft of painting. Ghiberti continues: "He brought in the new art, abandoned the stiff manner of the Greeks, and became the most excellent artist in Etruria. Great works were made [by him] in many places and particularly in the city of Florence; and [about him] there were a number of pupils, all gifted men like the ancient Greeks. Giotto perceived in art things which others had not seen. He brought into being an art near to nature and with it a gentleness, keeping always within a just measure. He was most experienced in all branches of art and discovered much knowledge that had been hidden for about six hundred years. When nature gives, she gives without stint. His works were numerous both in fresco and wall painting, in oils and on wood. He executed in mosaic the Navicella in St. Peter's in Rome, and painted the chapel [the choir] and its altarpiece in the same church. Most elegantly he painted the Hall of Famous Men of King Uberto of Naples, and also in the Castel dell'Uovo. He painted in the church of the Arena in Padua; in fact it is all by his hand, and the 'gloria mondana' [Last Judgment] there is also by him. In the Palazzo della Parte he painted the 'Storia della Fede Christiana' as well as many other things. In the church of the Minorites at Assisi [San Francesco] he painted almost all the lower part. He also painted in Santa Maria degli Angeli in Assisi, and in Santa Maria della Minerva in Rome a crucifix and a panel.

"Works by him done in Florence: — in the Badia, in an arch over the portal, he painted most exquisitely the Virgin, half-length, with a figure on either side, and also the choir and the altarpiece. In the church of the Minorite friars [Santa Croce] four chapels and four panels. In the Minorite church at Padua [San Antonio ?] he painted

most excellent works, and with great skill. In the church of the Umiliati at Florence [Ognissanti] a chapel, a large crucifix, and four panels, in one of which is represented the death of the Virgin surrounded by angels, the twelve apostles and Our Lord, all done most perfectly; there is a large panel with the Virgin sitting in a chair with angels about her, and over the door leading to the cloister a Virgin, half-length, with the child in her arms. In San Giorgio a panel and a crucifix; at the Preaching Friars' [Santa Maria Novella] a crucifix, a highly finished panel, and many other things. He worked for many of the signori. He painted in the Palazzo del Podestà in Florence (representing there how the commune was robbed) and also the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen.

"Giotto deserved the highest fame. He was great in all branches of art, even in sculpture. On the bell-tower of Santa Reparata, which was built by him, the first episodes were designed and carved by his hand. I saw in my time preparatory sketches by his hand for these reliefs most beautifully designed. He was expert in both kinds of art. The greatest credit must be given to him, for it was he by whom so much knowledge was discovered and transmitted, whereby it is seen that nature had endowed him with every kind of genius. He brought all to the highest perfection."

Of the numerous works by Giotto which Ghiberti mentions, the greater part has been lost; this applies, as we have already explained, to all his paintings in Naples and Rome, with the exception of the altarpiece in St. Peter's, which we shall shortly consider more closely. In Padua there remain only the Arena frescoes; in Assisi mainly school works, which probably were executed partly under Giotto's supervision and therefore — as usually happened — were early connected with the master's name. It was probably a good old tradition to give Giotto the credit for a large part of the decoration in the Lower Church at Assisi; most of the paintings there were in his style, and how great a share he actually had in the execution was a question which would scarcely trouble the early historians of art.

Of the pictures in Florence which Ghiberti includes in his list, only scant remnants survive — the much-restored frescoes in the Cappella Bardi and the Cappella Peruzzi in Santa Croce, and two of the pictures from Ognissanti. Everything else that Giotto is said to have done in Florentine churches has been lost.

Besides the church paintings, Ghiberti tells us that Giotto painted in Florence in the Palazzo del Podestà "el comune come era rubato," and "la cappella di Santa Maria Maddalena." In this old palace,

now transformed into the National Museum, certain traces of frescoes remain in what used to be the chapel, representing scenes from the legends of Mary Magdalen and Mary of Egypt, with a big Last Judgment on the end wall; but unfortunately they are very fragmentary and also much restored. These paintings were subjected to restoration at a very early period, for we know that the chapel was injured by fire in 1330; for several centuries they were covered with a layer of plaster, which was not removed until the middle of the nineteenth century. The remnants which have survived are in such bad condition that they scarcely permit any definite criticism of style. Ghiberti's account of these frescoes is corroborated by the older Florentine writers, such as Antonio Pucci (in a sonnet, written in the thirties) and Filippo Villani, who dwells especially on the portrait of Dante which the artist is supposed to have introduced, along with his own, into the picture of the Last Judgment. The portrait of Dante was again the subject of a rather hot discussion after the paintings were uncovered in 1847, but this brought out no new arguments as to the artistic qualities of the frescoes. If we limit ourselves exclusively to the historical evidence, Giotto's authorship of the paintings in the former chapel of the Palazzo del Podestà, or Bargello, as it is usually called, may be regarded as well established, but the value of these pictures as documents for the history of painting is negligible. They can at most be regarded as fading shadows of Giotto's art; they do not in any way contradict the evidence of historical tradition, but they offer no new material for the characterization of the master's individual style. The compositions are so fragmentary and so little of the figures is visible that they hardly offer any scope for criticism, and we consequently need not return to these pictures in the course of our more detailed study.

There is, then, not very much in actual existence of the works which Ghiberti, supported to some extent by other authors, ascribes to Giotto, but there is enough to afford a basis for analysis of his artistic style and personality. The authentic works which are still preserved are stamped with such a distinctive character, and rise so far above the mass of Trecento painting, that we need not remain in doubt as to Giotto's individual creative genius. We shall study in the ensuing pages a few typical examples from various periods of his activity, analyzing them with attention to composition and style, for the purpose of making clear, if possible, the salient features of this art which became a starting-point for the subsequent development of painting.

IV

THE FRESCOES IN THE ARENA CHAPEL AT PADUA

THE little church of Santa Maria dell'Arena in Padua (Pl. 15), named from the Roman amphitheater on the site of which it is built, makes, as one approaches it, a drab and insignificant impression in its setting of rich verdure.

The building has long, horizontal lines; it is narrow in proportion to its length; only one of its walls is pierced by six high windows. Over the entrance stood originally Giovanni Pisano's marble Madonna, which now is placed on the altar, encircled by Giotto's frescoes, thus giving a valuable reminder that the two greatest creative artists of that time, Giovanni Pisano and Giotto, were working simultaneously here in Padua. Giovanni, the older of the two, was a more emotional personality, and very likely Giotto was influenced by him to a considerable extent. At present, the only ornament on the plain façade is a big, tripartite Gothic window.

As one enters through the narrow door, the eye meets with a rich and brilliant play of colors. The room is lofty. The deep blue, star-strewn barreled vault is divided by a broad band across the middle into two large fields, each adorned with five medallions. Along the walls run three tiers of thirty-four fresco compositions, of considerable size, combined into a unified decorative effect by means of the deep blue color of the background. Furthermore, there are in the narrow wall-spaces on the sides of the entrance to the choir four paintings, and on the wall above the door a colossal representation of the Last Judgment.

The harmony between the painted decoration and the architecture is, in our opinion, perfect, in spite of the criticisms made of the distribution of the decoration on the wall between the windows. (Cf. A. Moschetti, *La Cappella degli Scrovegni*, Florence, 1904.) The size of the pictures is more limited than in Giotto's other decorative frescoes, because the proportions of the room made this desirable. The painter has understood how to adapt himself to the architectural conditions, he has thought along architectonic lines, and has composed his pictures with a view to a rhythmic decoration of the walls

and not with the object of producing an illusion of something beyond them. It is, on the whole, difficult to point out any entirely preserved painted decoration of a church interior in Italy of an equally unified effect. Later artists have, as a rule, lacked the qualifications for creating architectonic wall decoration of this kind; they have not preserved that feeling for the function of the walls that Giotto had, but have used them instead as space for the display of naturalistic panoramas.

The subjects of these frescoes are taken from the lives of the Virgin and of Christ. The sacred stories are told in picture after picture, with rising and falling dramatic expression, yet the collective impression remains restful and harmonious, as of one great unified, artistic conception. On entering the chapel one is at first somewhat bewildered and awed by the great number of kindred scenes, the restraint and severity of the decoration; but as soon as the eye has had time to get a little accustomed to the complete effect, one begins to notice that there are distinct groups and series, dividing the contents into chapters, and that these are arranged on general principles which makes it easier to comprehend it all in one glance. We can distinguish six sections, or chapters, in the narrative. The first covers the story of the parents of Mary; the second, the life of Mary from her birth until her marriage; the third, the story of the childhood of Christ; the fourth, Christ's work as teacher and his miracles; the fifth, the passion of Christ; the sixth, the crucifixion of Christ and his victory over death. As a final chapter the Last Judgment is represented on the wall over the entrance; here Christ appears in his supreme glory as the judge of the world.

The text of the first section, the story of the parents of Mary, is taken from the proto-evangel of St. James the Less, while that of the other sections is from the Gospels; it should be noticed that the artist's interpretation of the texts is often rather free, and his dependence on traditional forms of representation very slight.

The pictures are altogether thirty-eight (two of the compositions being devoted to the Annunciation), arranged in three tiers. The uppermost tier shows, on the south wall, the six pictures of the first chapter; and on the north wall the six pictures of the second chapter. On a level with these, at either side of the triumphal arch, is the Annunciation. The second tier contains, on the south wall, the five pictures of the third chapter (the windows here encroach on the space to a certain extent); and, on the north wall, six scenes illustrating Christ's activity as teacher make the fourth chapter. On the same

level, at either side of the triumphal arch, are shown the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, and Judas receiving the pieces of silver. The lowest tier has, on the south wall, five pictures: the Passion of Christ, beginning with the Last Supper and ending with the Scourging; on the north wall, six pictures: the Death of Christ and the events following closely upon it, beginning with the Carrying of the Cross and ending with the Descent of the Holy Spirit. Furthest down on both walls is painted a base in imitation of stone blocks in grayish-brown, and between these are, on either side, six Virtues and six Vices, represented in the form of allegorical female figures, painted in imitation of gray stone reliefs.

The large, barreled vault is divided into two parts by a broad ornamental band. Each part is adorned with five medallions containing busts of Christ, Mary, and prophets; otherwise, the ceiling is decorated with stars on a dark blue ground. Finally, besides the pictures mentioned, there is, in the lunette-shaped space above the triumphal arch, a representation of God the Father, surrounded by angels, in the act of sending forth Gabriel, the angel of the Annunciation.

The question of the order in which these different series of pictures were painted has lately been under discussion among students, but no definite conclusion has yet been reached. A certain difference in the manner of composition in chapters I and II, as compared with the following, has given rise to the supposition that they were painted after the completion of the other chapters, *i. e.*, the two lower tiers. It is especially noticeable that the compositions in chapter I — the story of Joachim and Anna — are considerably more restrained than those below, more relief-like and more directly conforming with the demands of mural decoration. They appear to be the most mature and latest product of Giotto's activity in the Arena Chapel. The compositions of chapter II — the story of Mary's youth — are not quite as restrained and sculptural, but even here one may observe more concentration than in the pictures below. The richest in psychological expression and the most versatile in dramatic composition are, however, the illustrations of the Passion in the lowest tier. Here the artist stands highest as a narrator, and in view of this it is conceivable that he might have ended his work with these compositions. If we simply consider formal criteria, however, the strongest reasons argue a later dating of the upper pictures. Yet it should be emphasized that the decorative work is fundamentally uniform and homogeneous in style; the divergences of composition might be

explained by the greater experience acquired by the artist in the course of his work.

One is tempted to dwell on picture after picture, analyzing each in regard to composition and style; we must refrain, owing to lack of space. We shall instead select some characteristic specimens from the various series which fully demonstrate the principles of composition and formal expression characteristic of the entire set. We therefore begin with the story of Christ's childhood.

The Nativity (Pl. 16) is an altogether novel, original solution of one of the oldest and commonest problems of composition in Christian art. The essential novelty does not consist so much in the iconographic modifications — the omission of the grotto, the changed positions of the animals, etc., — as in the fact that the old scheme has been dissolved through the movement of the figures. The composition is no longer dominated by an unbroken vertical plane, but shows a rhythmic interaction of the dimensions of depth and width — an architectonic space composition. Mary, the central figure, is reclining on a bed placed on a ledge of rock halfway up the picture. She is not reposing in the customary hieratic aloofness, but is animated by a movement which brings her in intimate touch with the surroundings and at the same time characterizes her as a human mother. With the assistance of a maid she is placing the child back in his crib. The movement in the picture follows an oblique direction outward. It begins with the turn of the upper part of Mary's body and continues through her arms and the child to the maid, who stands in the left corner only partly visible. Directly beneath Mary sits Joseph, fast asleep, crouched in a heavy mass, on the lowest level of the picture. He produces almost the effect of an anchor attached to the lighter and more buoyant female figure on the bed. The same impression of massiveness is produced by the big sheep lying near Joseph. Alongside of them the shepherds are standing gazing upward, facing into the picture. The broad back of the foremost figure, in particular, gives an impression of massiveness and weight; but because of the fullness of the figures and their upward movement they carry the eye from the lowest plane in the foreground to the uppermost, which is occupied by the floating angels, one of whom is descending toward the shepherds. One receives a distinct impression of three horizontal planes, and of the interrelated connection between these, both upward and downward. At the same time these horizontal planes denote different grades of depth in the composition, clearly indicated by the ledges of the rock and the positions of the

figures in relation to them. The constructive framework is strong and well defined, without appearing as a skeleton. Each of the figures has an independent value and a plainly indicated place in the picture, a definite task to achieve in the composition. They are constructive parts of an organic whole. The compositional form subsequently comes to be better enclosed, but the human import could hardly be more fully expressed. The tone of intimacy struck by the relation of the mother to the child could hardly be purer or deeper. It is accompanied by the rejoicing of the angels, the intent listening of the shepherds, and the patient attendance of the weary Joseph.

The second picture of the series, the Adoration of the Magi (Pl. 17), contains more figures, and the grouping is consequently somewhat more compact. Important differences of level in the composition have again been produced by the arrangement of the rock in ledges. Mary sits under the same shed as in the previous picture, but the ground in front of her does not form such a steep incline. It is cut into steps, providing places at various levels for the three Magi and for the groom with the camels. A rising rhythm is thus attained, moving up toward the Virgin, and carried on by the pyramidal rock behind her. This movement does not, however, follow the relief plane, but is directed obliquely inward toward the main group, the Virgin attended by Joseph and an angel. Two recurring diagonals, indicated by the figures mentioned and the three kings, are thus placed at right angles. The opposition of the movements toward the background is perfectly plain, and at the same time the different horizontal planes of the picture contribute to the emphasis of the main figure, the enthroned Virgin, and her attendants. She dominates the whole and immediately attracts the gaze of the spectator to herself, just as she is the center of the movements of all the other figures. The artist's feeling for balance has demanded something to counterpoise the elevated main group, and this equilibrium he has effected through the stately camels behind the kings. In the middle of the picture, where the old king is kneeling, almost isolated, there is thus formed a depression, whence the lines ascend equally on either side. The triangular masses of the flanking groups balance each other perfectly; the firm architectonic framework again forms the basis for the rhythmic effect. The individual features of Mary, the kings, Joseph, and the servant, are not very marked, yet suffice to give us a feeling of the moods of the different figures: the stern, almost brooding reverence of the old man who kisses the feet of the

child; the admiring devotion of the second king, with the horn; the dreaming tenderness of the youth who is taking the cover off his urn filled with fragrant myrrh, and finally the preoccupation of the groom who is busily reining in the camels. All other figures usually included in the suite of the kings are omitted.

Still another picture of the same early group may be referred to, since it shows certain variations: the Massacre of the Innocents (Pl. 18). The composition consists of two distinctly opposed groups, emphasized by the architectural elements of the background, but the connection between these is much closer than in the previous example. The movements are no longer intermediate links, but form the central motif itself, the artistic import. The figures are all on the same horizontal plane, and the artist has not succeeded in bringing out the distinct figures in the tightly packed group of mothers. We receive, however, an impression of definite grades of depth by means of movements occurring behind one another. In the crowd of mothers three figures stand forth: the one farthest off, with outstretched empty hands — she has already lost her child; the second, leaning forward, even to the last moment clutching the leg of her boy while he is stabbed by the executioner; the third, drawing back and hugging her child in a convulsive embrace to protect him against the soldier with raised sword who has already grasped him by the leg. All of these imploring, protecting, and aggressive movements follow parallel directions in the relief plane. In front of the mothers, but to the right, stands a figure seen from the back, a man thrusting right into the picture, thus increasing the impression of depth. He is balanced at the other end of the picture by a figure turned full front, a soldier who, like two of his comrades, has thrown away his sword and is recoiling in evident disgust at the butchery. It is remarkable that only three soldiers in all are carrying out the orders of Herod against this compact throng of distracted mothers — with the remaining three human feelings have prevailed. The artist has apparently tried to lessen the impression of savagery and bestial slaughter by giving formal preponderance to other elements. The clash, the conflict between the soldiers and the mothers, is plain enough, nevertheless. It is not a meaningless jumble of murdering, where men are likely to wound one another by accident, but a methodical and well arranged killing, carried out according to command. The picture is, perhaps, less shocking but not less expressive than more extreme representations of the same subject. The concentration on a few dominating monumental figures makes the

whole more artistically restrained and appealing than other pictures of the massacre of the Innocents.

Behind the group of women rises a hexagonal building with a pointed roof, reminiscent of North Italian baptisteries. There is no real reason for this; the building has probably been inserted as a formal counterbalance to the balcony in which Herod has been placed, to produce jointly with the latter a rhythmic division of the upper half of the picture. The two structures also improve the illusion of space to a considerable degree, because they are not treated like shallow stage wings, but, in spite of their simplification, with tactile sense of reality. Giotto's architectonic imagination appears here convincingly, especially if one compares these buildings with the arbitrary toy architecture characteristic of the St. Francis frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi. In the Arena frescoes the architecture is not intended, any more than the figures, to produce a fleeting naturalistic impression or to stand forth as an actual view from nature; the value of both is symbolic and decorative.

The picture next in order, first in the third series, the chapter on the teaching activity of Jesus, is an excellent specimen of Giotto's architectonic manner of composition, both in its general construction and in the actual buildings represented. The subject is Christ among the Doctors (Pl. 19), and the setting is the nave of a Romanesque basilica. The figures, seated along rows of columns, are grouped in the shape of a wedge pointing into the background. The boy Christ forms the apex of the wedge; above and behind him rises a large apse. Although not constructed according to the laws of perspective, the interior possesses considerable depth. The solemn rhythm of the rounded arches, in combination with the two uniform rows of large seated figures, produces an architectonic impression of overwhelming grandeur.

The Marriage at Cana (Pl. 20) has often been made the occasion for representing a banquet hall with a company at table round the dominating figure of Christ. Even in a thirteenth-century painting of this scene in the Upper Church at Assisi there is an evident tendency toward realistic richness of detail, and a strong suggestion of conviviality. Giotto raises the story from the level of the realistic novel to that of the epic poem. The essential part of his representation is not the festive meal round a richly spread table, but a restful and deepfelt sense of the spell of the presence of a strong spiritual power. These people do not appear as in life or on the stage, but rather as a kind of primeval type, whose reality stands in direct proportion to the

concentration of its formal expression. The indication of the room by a screen-like wall, which hardly suggests a real interior but provides an adequate tridimensional stage for the figures, sustains the abstract generalization. The wall is hung with a drapery up to half its height and is surmounted by a light gallery on consoles, in place of a cornice — elements apparently intended to produce a rhythmic division of the bare upper part of the picture. The table at which the figures are seated makes an angle so as to accommodate more guests; in the foreground to the right there is a bench with some big wine jars on it. By this arrangement distinct vertical planes of depth are brought out in the composition. In the middle of the picture, at the long side of the table, the bride is sitting isolated, like an enthroned Madonna. The eye is immediately attracted to her as the principal personage. On either side of this central axis are balanced side groups, about equal in weight, consisting of the figures seated at the projecting part of the table and those grouped around the large wine jars. In the former group Christ is the central figure, in the latter the stout butler who is sampling the wine. These two are the poles between which the psychic tension develops. The entire picture is charged with this tension, the whole representation is pervaded by the strange, wonder-working power which all feel but nobody is quite able to explain. Christ quietly issues his order to one of the serving women — Joseph looks at him wonderingly — the others are waiting to hear the result of the butler's test — but the bride seems bewildered in the presence of the supernatural. We have here a splendid example of Giotto's psychological power of characterization. It does not aim at fine individual distinctions — all of the figures represented are types rather than characters — but it brings out the essential in the varying emotional state of the figures. It is the fundamental quality and not the deviations at which the artist is aiming. That which binds the actors together is stronger than that which distinguishes them from one another.

In the representation of the raising of Lazarus (Pl. 21) the same method of composition as in the wedding picture has been applied to a certain extent. Psychic tension suffuses the entire picture, connecting the two main groups, which are placed rather far out on the sides. But the artist has not fully realized the expressional value of empty space, and has inserted intermediate figures between the two poles. Christ is standing near the left margin of the picture, and behind him, appearing only in part, are two apostles. He raises his hand, speaking in the same manner as in the wedding picture. John seems

unconsciously to supplement his gesture. Lazarus has stepped forth from his tomb in the rock on the right. His face shows signs of decomposition; the body is tightly swathed. He is able to stand only with the support of two powerful men. One of these has begun to remove the shroud, but the other does not seem inclined to unwrap either his hands or his face, owing to the disagreeable smell of the decaying corpse. Further off we see another man who is holding his mantle to his nose.

Lazarus and his two attendants are standing in a straight line which runs diagonally inward and at about the middle of the picture is taken up and continued by a closely packed group of astonished spectators, inquisitive, but also hesitating a little in front of the ill-smelling corpse. From the group of spectators only the foremost figure stands out, a young man who is extending his arm obliquely outward toward Christ, thereby denoting the opposite diagonal and linking the figure of Christ (in a rather palpable manner) both with the spectators and with the man at the side of Lazarus. The grouping is, consequently, wedge-shaped, but at the same time a direct connection is established between the principal personages who are out at the ends of the widely divergent sides of the wedge. The two vertical planes of the foreground are furthermore emphasized by the two kneeling women at the feet of Christ. They are lying almost prostrate, on their knees, with arms resting on the ground — in a sphinx-like position. In the same part of the foreground are two small boys, exerting themselves to the utmost in an attempt to lift the heavy stone slab which formed the door of the tomb. This easily comprehensible grouping of figures is of the greatest importance to the space effect of the picture, but there is an added element which contributes still more to the dramatic effect: the isolation of the figure of Christ in contrast to all the rest. This is emphasized too, by the outline of the mountain running obliquely across the background, taking in the majority of figures, and sloping down toward Christ, who rises high and powerful against the blue background. It is this opposition which first strikes the eye and immediately makes clear the predominant importance of Christ.

On the other hand, one cannot escape noticing the artist's lack of ability to represent the more remote figures in the crowd. The spectators in the background are packed together in a way which precludes any impression of real bodies. And what are they standing on, in front of the mountainside which bears down on them? However, the foremost figures are presented with such overwhelming

synthetic power and such clear accentuation of their definite place in the composition that the total impression is grand and convincing.

The scenes from the Passion have, as a rule, an increased number of figures and richer and more varied forms of composition. They are all in the lowest tier and are, therefore, most easily visible — a circumstance which probably has been the reason for the introduction of a greater number and variety of figures. The series opens with two horizontally extended compositions: the Last Supper and the Washing of Feet (Pl. 22), broad epic representations, depending for artistic effect principally upon the restful rhythmic division of the width dimension by figures which have been placed in uniform positions on both sides of a long table. The grouping in the Washing of Feet offers a little more variety. The interiors are in both instances rather abstract, indicated by a wall in the background and a canopy-like ceiling supported by extremely slender shafts. Giotto has here practically made himself independent of realistic considerations, directing his chief interest to the figures as expressions of his form-creating imagination. There is a suggestion of compelling force in their restrained power and firm placing in the picture.

A little less abstract are the interiors in which are enacted the two subsequent scenes, Christ before the High Priest and Christ before Pilate (Pl. 23). The scene of the latter is an open yard or *atrium* with a large *impluvium* in the ceiling. This is again supported by four unnaturally slender columns; otherwise, the simple architecture is perfectly plausible, consisting merely of plain walls with grated windows. Christ, in a brocaded mantle, with the scepter and the crown of thorns, is placed in a chair at the left. He is sunk into his chair, with closed eyes, apparently unmindful of the minions who are attacking him with blows and pinches, pulling his hair, and shouting loudly. Blows descend from all sides, but brute force does not seem to have any effect on the exhausted victim. On the opposite side of the picture Pilate is standing in conversation with some old men. His strong figure is faced outward, but he is stretching out his hand and pointing to Christ with an explanatory gesture, which is repeated by the old man who has his back turned. Both appear equally anxious to exculpate themselves and to accuse the victim of the mockers, who makes no remonstrance of any kind. Their movements are continued with more violent energy by the bulky negro who is raising a long rod for a blow. He represents the formal connection between the two main groups and at the same time the culmination of the attacking brute force.

Since the figures are placed in two almost circular groups, the impression of space is, of course, brought out in a very striking manner. The movements cross one another in several different directions, especially around the figure of Christ, where they assume a centrifugal character, but the dominant direction follows the relief plane, which is marked by Pilate and the negro with the raised rod. The principle of composition is thus here practically the same as we have already observed several times: two closed groups balancing each other, between them an empty space, a pause which emphasizes the opposing rhythms of the movements. An isolated figure has here been inserted to strengthen the connection between the main groups. This figure is possibly a little less obvious than the corresponding one in the Raising of Lazarus, but even so it is not altogether beneficial to the general effect. The posture of his legs is also unsatisfactory. Otherwise it is just the absolute firmness of the positions and the clear definition of the gestures which give the figures such an extraordinary effectiveness as rhythmically coöperating cubic values. The faces appear alternately in profile or half profile; only the two principal figures, Christ and Pilate, are turned full front, thereby attracting more attention than any of the others. Furthermore the artist, by placing a kneeling figure before Christ, has contrived to support and lift this figure, which otherwise, on account of its drooping position, might easily have been overshadowed by the rest. On the whole there is a clearness and an accurate calculation in the composition which one can only gradually appreciate by trying to enter into the train of thought of the artist. The characterization of the faces of Christ and Pilate are indeed among the most expressive that Giotto has achieved: in the one instance, a forcible accentuation and anxious tension, and in the other, inner reflection, and serenity rising superior to humiliation.

A composition of more immediate psychological effect is the representation of Christ carrying his cross (Pl. 24). Here Giotto has again resorted to the expedient of charging the picture with a soul-power which is polarized in two figures placed at a considerable distance from each other. Between them are introduced several contrasting elements. Christ, the principal figure, is placed in the right half of the picture. He stands isolated, bent down under the weight of the big cross, as if he could not bear up any longer. His gaze is directed behind him, imploring assistance, and meets that of his mother, who is farthest away on the left of the picture: she has just stepped out through the city gate and is looking in despair at

her son succumbing to his burden. She tries to hurry to his assistance, but is prevented by a soldier who rudely pushes her back. Another is giving Christ a push in order to make him start on again. The multitude is crowding through the gateway. The forward pressure can evidently be held back no longer, yet a moment of stagnation has come, a pause, which, like a stroke of lightning, reveals the whole inner meaning and brings out the two main figures. In this as in so many others of the Arena frescoes the artist has offset the figure of Christ against all the rest: seconded by Mary he balances the entire compact crowd of people.

Furthermore, the face of Christ, again the only one presented full front, is a harmonious oval, framed by thick black hair and beard. The expression is weary and submissive, yet the whole appearance gives an impression of dominating power. His form is monumental and his placing in the composition is of decisive significance. Only a gate-tower and a part of the gateway indicate the locality of the event; elsewhere we perceive above the figures the blue background, against which the great cross stands out in sharp silhouette. It is not an event which once took place outside the city of Jerusalem that the artist wishes to represent, but rather a drama of the human soul in Biblical form. Therefore, the stage arrangement is made so extremely simple, so general. The artistic expressiveness and the convincing power do not lie in the exterior arrangements, but in the form of the figures. These appear in a way which leaves no doubt as to their absolute necessity.

Again, in the celebrated representation of the mourning over the dead Christ (Pl. 25), the stage arrangement is reduced to a minimum. It consists merely of the outline of a rock drawn obliquely across the picture with a withered tree on the topmost ledge. But the ground under the figures is real solid rock, on which the figures are standing or sitting with all the weight of block-like massive bodies. Since a considerable space has actually been created in front of the blue background, this assumes the vaulted appearance of sky: a bleaker ground and a clearer sky, perhaps, than we know of, but none the less convincing and suggestive as a setting for this overwhelming tragedy. The figures are arranged on a concentric plan, with Christ as the pivot. Toward this center all lines, all eyes, all gestures are directed, and the more closely they approach to it, the more intense the emotional expression becomes. The nearest figures are leaning forward to reach the dead Christ with their hands; they kneel or sit on the ground to protect and caress his precious body. Mary

holds his head on her knee and still tries to penetrate his closed eyelids with her gaze. The Magdalen, on the other side, clasps both of her hands around those feet which she once anointed with costly ointment and wiped dry with her hair. Other women have taken hold of the hands of Christ, and a third is supporting the drooping head. John throws out his arms, as if he were about to fling himself headlong on the body; on the opposite side a woman responds with a similar motion of the arms, while her neighbor, who stands with hands clasped, appears to be overcome with grief. Farther away several weeping women are crowding round, and at the end nearest the feet the composition is closed by two stalwart men, Joseph and Nicodemus, the counselors, who by their restrained expressions and calm postures sound the low note in the scale of feelings. In the sky the mourning of the heavens and the world is interpreted by a whole choir of grief-stricken little angels; they supply the intense, piercing treble in this mighty symphony of sorrow.

The extraordinary expressiveness in this composition is naturally dependent on the firm architectonic structure and on the rhythmic creation of space by means of figures whose form values possess a classical *pondus*. Of greatest importance for the space effect is the placing in the foreground of the figures presented in back view. These monumental female figures make the foundation wall of the whole composition, preventing the figure of Christ from sliding out. The other figures rise gradually behind one another in successive layers, the furthest formed by the rock, which also serves to enclose the figures on the right side. Its contour leads down toward Christ, and the group that it sets off acts as a counterbalance to the group around the head of Christ. It is here that attention centers. The sight extinguished in the eyes of Christ explains all the rest. Only death could arouse the intense soul-life which sways everything in this picture.

When we pass from the representations of the life of Christ and the excited scenes of the Passion to the pictures illustrating the story of the Virgin and her parents, it seems like sailing from a stormy sea into a calm river. The story runs quietly, the scenes take on a more intimate character, the composition becomes still more strictly defined, the expression more restrained than in the earlier series. One might speak of a development toward greater clearness, but not of any essentially new elements in form or manner of composition. The scenes have the same abstract nature as before. The representations of Joachim's return to the shepherds (Pl. 39), and Joachim's offering,

and his dream are located in mountain landscapes of an exceedingly simplified type, consisting of sharply cut, gray rocks of crystalline formation. Sometimes they remind us more of furrowed lava-beds than of real rocks. It is the solidity of the mass and the rhythmic value of the contours which are of importance to the artist, not so much the characterization of the material itself. Giotto never tries to produce a naturalistic landscape. He does not attempt to create a beautiful and charming setting for the action, only backgrounds, or complements, to the figures, intended to explain the subject and enhance the space effect. Like the figures, the landscapes serve merely as building stones. The artistic impression is mainly dependent on the rhythmic division of the picture in clearly defined dimensions of width and depth. Giotto's compositions are preëminently picture-architecture; not abstractions, but filled with feeling for reality, finding expression in intense values of rhythm and form. In as far as it is the mission of art to create rhythmic form — strong, convincing, compelling — for emotions or mental states, Giotto is one of the greatest artists that ever lived.

We can therefore understand more easily why Giotto does not apply himself to any more intimate representation of landscapes, but is satisfied with these bare rocks, with only here and there a solitary plant or tree. They fully answer the symbolical and formal demands. It seems, besides, as if the artist had felt a special need of making the ground as firm as possible, as if he had desired to emphasize its hardness in preference to its softness, thereby providing a safer foundation for the figures. If, for instance, we look at the representation of Joachim's dream (Pl. 26), we cannot but feel how well the ground is supporting this slumbering giant, who sits crouching, with his head resting on his raised knee, at the entrance of the little hut. He is completely wrapped up in a wide mantle, and produces an impression of heaviness like that of a stone block. On the other hand, how lightly the little sheep and the dog are resting on the hard ground, how easily the shepherds move, listening to the fluttering angel's wings! Here the artist's ability of characterizing the supporting and the weighing, the lightly mobile and the massively solid, stands out most convincingly. The soaring angel is also of special significance because, by his eloquent movement from the upper corner down toward Joachim in the opposite lower corner, he spans the picture with a spiritual power which is augmented by the empty space between the two figures. The gradual sloping of the ground suggests the continuity of the movement.

The picture immediately preceding, the Angel announcing to Anna the Birth of a Daughter (Pl. 27), shows an entirely different staging, and yet the composition agrees in its main principles with that of Joachim's Dream. We are removed to the simple bed-chamber of the old woman. The room is represented with plain gray walls; all that we see of furniture is a chest, and a bedstead with curtains drawn aside. On the wall some small objects are hanging beneath the window. Naturally, the room is shown on a very small scale in proportion to the figure; the same is true, in an even more pronounced degree, of the anteroom, where the servant sits at her spinning-wheel, eagerly listening. Architecture, we have seen, like landscape, has to Giotto primarily a symbolic significance. It is simplified as far as can be done without losing its artistic value. What is here represented is enough, however, to convince us that the event is taking place in a real room. The interior has a palpable dimension of depth. We notice how the light, entering obliquely, is distributed on walls and objects; we feel something of the intimate atmosphere of the simple bedroom. The architecture serves as the enclosing frame of the psychic tension, starting from the angel, who enters only part way through the window, and terminating in the servant in the hall; the central point is the powerful female figure, kneeling in the middle of the room. It is in her that the force of the celestial annunciation is condensed. The divinely blessed old woman is receiving but at the same time sending out something which the listening servant is endeavoring to catch. The placing of the three principal figures along a dominating diagonal has created a continuous spiritual movement, the message of the angel receives greater speed and power, and Anna is denoted more plainly as the central motif. She balances the whole representation. Giotto has contrived to adapt the lighting to the same end: soft sunlight is shed over Anna's face, while dusk prevails in the entry where the servant, who is dressed in a light color, is dimly revealed. The plastic values of the figures are enhanced by the gradation of the light effect.

A picture which has justly won general admiration is the Meeting of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate (Pl. 28). The emotional intensity animating Giotto's representation of humanity here receives an unusually strong expression; the warm felicity of aged love is personified in a simple and noble example in the two old people who are embracing and exchanging a long kiss. Joachim leans forward with both arms round Anna's shoulders, while she strokes the bearded cheek of the old man with one hand and with the other clasps his

powerful neck. The women who have accompanied Anna through the city gate wait at some little distance, their curiosity curbed by reverence for the aged couple. The connection between the chief figures and the group of women is established through the old nurse, who has discreetly covered part of her face with her mantle. Behind Joachim the shepherd boy is approaching with the gifts. Only half of him is visible, yet he serves to emphasize the forward movement of the figure of Joachim. This runs obliquely into the picture, whereas those coming out through the city gate are following the same diagonal of depth in an opposite direction. The huge gate, flanked by two massive towers, is built at right angles to this diagonal. In this way the depth dimension is brought out, and sufficient space is created in front of the gate for the free movement of the monumental figures. With an unerring eye for the essential and a gift for clear architectonic construction, Giotto has refrained from any indication of the city, and has instead represented only a gate, but a gate of such imposing form and of such solid structure that it looks almost as if it were bursting through the frame and growing into an actual city gate of enormous dimensions. Giotto's architectonic imagination grips the spectator and gives the picture an appearance of higher reality. The ponderous and powerful architecture also helps, by way of contrast, to set forth the movement of the figures, perhaps the most essential factor in representing the spontaneous happiness and warmth of the meeting.

The Presentation of Mary in the Temple (Pl. 29) shows a rather intricate composition which might easily have proved a complete failure with an artist possessing a less pronounced architectonic feeling. The picture is divided by two diagonals of depth, indicated by the movements and gestures of the figures. From the left corner the child Mary, supported by her mother and accompanied by a servant carrying her belongings, goes up the flight of steps leading to the temple. This movement, tending obliquely inward, leads up to the high priest on the temple terrace. The other oblique line, which is defined by the placing of the temple in the picture, has its starting-point in the two monumental spectators at the right-hand corner; their gestures and glances lead inward in the direction of the high priest. It is in this recipient figure that the principal lines of movement intersect. The free space in front of the temple helps to make plain the direction of these lines. With supreme power of simplification, Giotto has reduced the temple to a choir wall; above this the pulpit is erected in the usual way, and from behind rises the pointed roof

of the altar tabernacle. It is, so to speak, only the angles of the temple building that are shown, and the spectator is therefore enabled to see at the same time what is going on both outside the temple and in. The architecture is here more symbolic than in most of the other pictures, yet not without a constructive framework. From an artistic point of view, it is of greatest significance as an element for producing space by dividing the composition in both height and depth. The figures predominate in a striking manner, and Giotto has done his very best plastic modeling, especially in the figures of the spectators and the large woman on the stairs; they are massive and cumbrous, but at the same time well articulated. One perceives Anna's firm, heavy tread on the stairs and the elastic step of the youth carrying the pack. The mechanical and the material are convincingly expressed, and thereby the basis for a strong pictorial impression has been laid. The psychic import is expressed through the concentration round the little Virgin before the high priest, a centralizing tendency of the movement which in a way coöperates with the diagonal lines predominating in the vertical plane.

In three of the subsequent pictures, showing how the suitors of Mary hand over their rods to the high priest, how they kneel in prayer before the altar waiting for the rod of the chosen one to flower (Pl. 30), and the marriage of Mary and Joseph, the action is going on partly inside the temple and partly outside. In all three the building has been placed in the right half of the picture and consists of a semicircular apse, to which two smaller chapels and a little vestibule are joined, the whole recalling the choir in a Romanesque basilica. Notwithstanding the radical simplification, this construction impresses us as plausible and monumental. It endows the pictures, particularly the one where the men kneel before the altar, with a loftiness and splendor of the greatest importance to the significance of the whole. The solemn rhythm of the broad arches is supported by the concentrated power in the group of kneeling men, which by its compression into a low horizontal mass produces an effect of restrained energy. The mysterious expectancy, the readiness to rise at the slightest indication of a response, is expressed through the coördinating action of the figures and the architecture.

On the entrance wall of the chapel, as already stated, is a representation of the Last Judgment (Pl. 31). This composition is so large and elaborate that it could be made the subject of a much more detailed study than we can afford at this point. It is the largest picture Giotto ever painted; though the artist certainly did not

execute the whole fresco by his own hand, he made the drawing and painted the more prominent parts, as, for instance, Christ, the apostles, and certain groups among the blessed and the damned.

The central point of the composition is represented by the majestic Christ, seated in a rainbow-hued *mandorla*, separating by a traditional gesture the blessed from the damned. The face of Christ is mild and noble, but not of such harmonious perfection as in Pietro Cavallini's fresco of the Last Judgment. Small angels support the immense *mandorla*, four of them announcing the arrival of the Day of Judgment by trumpet blasts. On either side of Christ the apostles are stationed in curving rows (in earlier pictures of the Last Judgment the apostles are invariably seated in straight rows); here there is already a suggestion of the grouping which becomes customary during the High Renaissance. Above the apostles, at the sides of the big window, the heavenly hosts are floating in closed ranks, armed for battle and marshaled by angels with cross-emblazoned banners. The military alignment of these hosts makes an imposing impression.

Immediately beneath the feet of Christ two angels are holding a huge cross, the symbol of the redemption, which traditionally marks the boundary between the blessed and the damned. Nearest to the cross, on the side of the blessed, we see Enrico Scrovegni, founder of the chapel, kneeling and presenting a model of the church to three of the most beautiful among the emissaries of heaven. It is not, however, the founder in person who holds the little chapel, but a white-robed monk, who may with probability be designated as the architect of the church. The group stands forth as a singularly significant part of the composition.

The blessed (Pl. 33) are distributed in three separate tiers. Uppermost, near Christ, saints, prophets, and all the preëminent elect are approaching under the leadership of the tall and stately Mary, who is floating in a *mandorla* of light, carried by angels; below them is the great compact host of those recently deceased, lined up in rows by sturdy angels as masters of discipline and order. Here we find men and women of every class in life, many of them with features differentiated according to type. The prevailing type is somewhat coarse and swarthy, the face short and broad, with a straight forehead, short nose, and ample chin. Further down, on the earth itself, we observe the heaviest sleepers among the blessed, who are only now waking up and helping one another to climb out of their tombs. These are drawn on a much smaller scale than the rest, probably in

order to denote the distance between heaven and earth — we are with the artist viewing it all from the exalted position of Christ — yet with the greatest precision and remarkably accurate movement and foreshortening.

On the other side of the cross all the horrors of hell are exposed (Pl. 32), swept by the stream of fire issuing from the feet of Christ. The hideous monster, within whose fanged jaws human beings are tortured, is obligatory in the representations of hell during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although it is more apt to produce a comic impression on the modern mind than to increase the gruesomeness of the scene. Round about, people are being tortured in different ways: they hang by the head or feet, flayed, torn, and hacked to pieces with tremendous energy by small devils. No matter how unsympathetic these different torture scenes are, one ought not to pass them by without attention to the little naked figures, often represented with the most daring foreshortening, but with no relaxation in the control of form. Look, for instance, at the two figures down at the left, bending like acrobats, with their heads between their knees. What artist, however perfect his naturalism, would have been able to produce a more convincing impression of structure and muscle?

The general scheme is dominated by an evident movement, or pull, toward the great central figure. Toward him the hosts of heaven are floating, toward him the elect are rising, around him the apostles assemble. It is this rising and encircling movement which prevails in the composition, by no means offset by the repelling power which emanates from Christ toward the damned. Here the confused multitude of little figures is so great that, at first, one gets hardly any impression of the unity of the movements; involuntarily the eye is attracted to the other side, to the big powerful figures, whose concordant movements and gestures affect us like a mighty hymn with strong regular rhythm, carried by hundreds of voices up toward the Redeemer. This hymn completely drowns the lamentations of the damned, and the representation as a whole has a preponderating tone of heavenly glory and rapture. The strongest power in this ascending motion is Mary, the Queen of Heaven, who is distinguished from the rest by her stately form but still turns toward them, helping and exhorting. Her position as mediator between Christ and mankind is obvious, her mighty personality is profoundly impressive. She is less the benign mother than the commanding and protecting divine Virgin: Pallas Athene, in whose

hand one might see the spear, whose head could proudly wear the Attic helmet. It is worth noticing how severely the approach of the blessed toward the heavenly delights has been represented: here is no treading of a measure in flowery fields, as in later famous pictures of Paradise (*e. g.*, Fra Angelico's); these monks are proceeding in serried ranks, as in a church procession, followed by burghers and women, all in long flowing robes whose parallel folds mark the rising rhythm of the unified movement. With the single exception of Enrico Scrovegni, the kneeling donor, whose distinguished profile is depicted with more striking character, they are not individuals, but types, clearly cut and modeled — characteristic representatives of all classes of mankind, all kinds of temperaments, every walk in life.

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The decoration of the Arena Chapel is completed, as we have said, by allegorical representations of seven Virtues and seven Vices, ranged along the lowest level of either side wall. These paintings are executed in grisaille, imitating reliefs carved in stone, and thus in color as in position form a base for the pictures above. Such treatment naturally adapts itself to Giotto's artistic style, for it gives full scope for the relief effects that the artist so often sought in his compositions, and is the most advantageous medium for his unusual skill in bringing out the plastic form values of the human figure.

The compositions consist of only one figure each, with or without attributes; in two instances small illustrative reliefs are added, exemplifying life in the domain of Justice and of Injustice. The artistic expression is limited entirely to the values of form and movement in the individual figures. The conception is not pictorial, in the true sense: it is not intended to produce any naturalistic illusion. Several of these allegorical figures might almost have been executed in stone as well as in color. They synthesize, so to speak, Giotto's decorative principles, which were developed quite as much under the influence of sculpture as of painting. These paintings consequently occupy an eminent position among the artist's productions, and explain much of what is most valuable and most typical in his individual method of expression.

As for the subjects — the seven Virtues and the seven Vices — Giotto may well have received his inspiration from contemporary miniatures, or from carvings on the cathedrals, where these figures frequently appeared, worked into the decoration round portals or capitals. Shortly before Giotto's time the great Pisan sculptors had

used such personifications on the font at Perugia, along with a whole group of similar abstractions. The chief literary sources for allegorical representations of the seven Virtues and seven Vices were probably the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius and the works of St. Augustine and his mediaeval commentators.¹

The Virtues and Vices are arranged in pairs, so that the opposites balance each other and by their contrast expound the meaning of the pictures. As we enter, we have the Virtues on our right and the Vices on our left.

The first pair is Hope and Despair.

Hope (Pl. 34) — *Spes* — is a young woman in a classic *chiton*, who raises her hands to receive the "crown of life," held by a little angel in the upper corner. The figure has small wings attached to the shoulders and rises a short distance from the ground, floating upward, as though borne by her great longing. A harmonious undulating movement pervades the slender figure, rising diagonally upward, its pulsating rhythm expressed in the rippling folds of the garment, which clings close to the figure, and in the lifted arms. She is related to the classical genii or Victories, but has more spiritual quality, more aspiration than the ancient figures. Her soaring seems to free her from all material bonds, despite her markedly plastic form. The artist has not felt the need of any attribute to make plain the significance of the elevating force of divine hope.

Despair — *Desperatio* — is personified by a very old woman who hangs herself by means of a long cloth attached to a beam. Her hair falls down in wisps across her face, her arms jerk up, her body is shaken by the convulsive death struggle; a devil takes flight, carrying off the released spirit. The human being, without hope and trust in a higher power, is entirely lost in the agonies of despair. The artist has given a masterly rendering of the body's weight as it hangs helpless from the scarf; if this were cut, the body would drop heavily to the floor, like a full sack.

Charity — *Caritas* — is again a young woman in classical costume; she wears a wreath of roses. She tramples money-bags underfoot and holds in her right hand a cup overflowing with the fruits and flowers of the earth, treasures which she will distribute for the benefit of others, for her heart belongs to Christ. Full of radiant gladness and humility, she offers her heart to a little figure of Christ who appears in the upper corner. Charity is very like Hope, but is not in such pronounced motion and is therefore, perhaps, not quite as charming.

¹ Cf. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte*, v, 363.

The task of representing the idea of altruistic love in a single picture was probably less grateful and stimulating to the artistic imagination than the concepts of Hope and Despair.

Envy — *Invidia* — is a horrible crone with goat's horns and bat ears, rising from the flames of hell. She eagerly stretches forth one clawed hand and in the other holds a well stuffed money-bag. From her mouth issues a poisonous serpent, for envy is the mother of slander.

Faith — *Fides* — stands out towering and strong like a statue against the dark background of a niche. She is dressed in the costume of a nun with keys at her belt, like an abbess; in her left hand she holds her *credo*, in her right a long cross with which she overturns an idol. Under her feet lie heretical writings. Two small praying angels are placed in the upper corners of the picture. It is plain that in this figure Giotto desired above all to express immovable firmness; Faith is hieratic and imposing, and perhaps represents the Church itself, even more than the theological virtue.

Disbelief — *Infidelitas* — is a fat, overfed woman, who totters toward the fires of hell. In her outstretched hand she carries a little idol, attached to the end of a string that passes around her neck. She wears a helmet with pieces that come down over the ears, so that she does not hear the voice of the prophet, who addresses her from on high. The whole is a picture of unstable weight, ensnared by a fragile idol.

Justice (Pl. 35) — *Iustitia* — sits proud as a queen on a Gothic throne. She holds the scales of a balance in either hand; probably the beam of the balance originally rested on her shoulders, but it is now missing. In one scale stands an angel, resembling an ancient Victory, crowning the virtuous laborer, a smith, who sits on the arm of the throne; in the other scale is a man who draws his sword to dispatch a criminal. On the base of the throne, like a relief cut in gray stone, is Life in the realm of Justice: horsemen returning from the chase and the market, laden with game and wares, and women who play and dance. Where Justice rules, trade and traffic proceed undisturbed and life is full of joy and fruitful toil.

Injustice (Pl. 36) — *Iniustitia* — sits before the crenellated gate of a half-ruined castle in the woods, on the lookout for booty. He holds a spear in one claw-like hand, and a sword in the other, fangs protrude from his mouth, and his profile is that of a bird of prey. Before his rocky tower are displayed the results of his misrule: peaceful travelers have fallen victims to robbers; a man lies beneath his

horse, which is held by a bandit; a woman is stretched on the ground, in agony, and despoiled of her clothes; two armed men approach from the right. The scene is one of the most animated and dramatic that Giotto ever produced, entirely expressive in its terseness, composed like a relief in stone, but with full movement in the figures. It is unfortunate that it has not been better preserved.

Temperance — *Temperantia* — is a middle-aged woman, draped in a long mantle with a veil over her diadem-crowned head. She has a bridle in her mouth and holds a sword in one hand and with the other binds it fast in its sheath. The figure is enclosed, concentrated, and restrained, as befits Temperance.

Wrath (Pl. 37) — *Ira* — is a strikingly expressive contrast to her opposite. She is again a figure in vigorous motion, although the movement does not carry her out of her position, or lift her, like Hope; it is convulsive. The powerful woman bends sharply backward and with violent effort tears apart her garment over the breast. It is as though she were about to burst in her passionate anger. She strives to give vent to her seething emotions, she rages — but at the same time the strong figure maintains a resistance which to a certain extent confines the free surge of passion and asserts the fruitlessness of her wild endeavor. She may be compared with the ancient representations of Maenads working themselves into a frenzy.

Fortitude — *Fortitudo* — is another statuesque figure: a herculean woman, dressed in armor, with a lion's skin over her shoulders and her head. She holds a great shield in front of her and in the other hand a drawn sword. Stalwart and unswerving she stands on guard, alert for the enemy, whose javelins break upon the trusty shield.

Inconsistency (Pl. 38) — *Inconstantia* — tries in vain to stand upright upon the rolling wheel of Fortune. Her arms are outstretched as she balances herself; the wind catches her streaming mantle as she moves forward on the swiftly turning wheel — no rest, no security for her; another moment and she will probably be thrown from her mount and another will ride in her place. The form that the allegory takes rather suggests classical models, but again Giotto has contrived to give added psychological interest by introducing more human feeling.

Wisdom — *Prudentia* — sits at her desk, holding in one hand a compass (to measure all things) and in the other a mirror, signifying that the beginning of wisdom is, "know thyself." She has two faces; the one in front is still fresh and fair, but the one behind is that of an old man (perhaps signifying the present and the past). The

composition is one of those which coincides most closely with the mediaeval scholastic representation of this favorite subject.

Folly — *Stultitia* — is a strange figure of a fool in a feather-decked costume and head-dress, swinging a club. He seems to be a clown setting forth to fight imaginary foes.

The most attractive element in all these allegorical representations is the striking artistic conception which translates into tangible plastic form the abstract idea. It is just this restrained, concentrated means of expression that gives Giotto his most powerful effects. His skill lies chiefly in the accent on the essential — both in form and composition — and the elimination of the unessential. As for the technical execution of the allegories, it is probable that it was partly the work of pupils, who also painted the decorative borders and the subsidiary figures in the Arena Chapel, but a more definite determination of the individual features in these works is scarcely possible now, as the paintings have been subjected to considerable restoration.

V

GIOTTO'S ARTISTIC STYLE IN THE ARENA FRESCOES

IN the course of our study of some characteristic pictures in the Arena Chapel we have had occasion to observe the basic principles of composition which raise these frescoes to masterpieces of the first rank. Above all we have observed how fresco painting becomes with Giotto a problem of spacing, in which every element, be it landscape, architecture, or figures, enters first of all as a mass, or building stone, in the rhythmic and tectonic composition, which is developed with the greatest clearness in dimensions of both width and depth. Giotto's architectonic imagination distinguishes his productions as painter and saves him from that kind of superficial abstraction which gives much of preceding as well as of subsequent art an unreal character. His mode of representation is, as we know, greatly simplified, but this simplification is concrete rather than abstract; it aims at asserting material existence — volume and weight — and does not tend toward any dissolution into lines and imaginary forms. To his contemporaries Giotto appeared as a veritable realist; he was praised for his ability to produce illusory impressions of actuality. To modern observers Giotto appears great and convincing as a pictorial artist just because he stands so free and independent before the phenomenal world. Notwithstanding his deficient knowledge of perspective, anatomy, and other naturalistic devices, he attains convincing expression of objective phenomena.

It seems hardly necessary to reiterate what has already been pointed out in regard to Giotto's interpretation of landscape and architecture. The artist's constant feeling for the supporting function of the ground, for the hard and clear-cut forms of the mountains, for the rhythm of the contours, gives to his landscapes, in spite of their bareness, a grandeur which has only in rare instances been attained by more naturalistic painters. The landscapes are not views cut out of nature and existing by themselves, but organic elements of an artistically mastered scheme.

The same essential point of view applies to the architecture. It is simplified, and gives evidence of a marked feeling for tectonic structure. Like the landscape it creates space, because it is not inserted as a mere decorative complement but as an inevitable link in

the structure of the composition. Both architecture and landscape thus serve to explain and support the grouping of the figures. The ground extends horizontally and forms a firm platform for the actors; the rocks rise rhythmically in steps, dividing or connecting the figures. The unbroken surfaces and distinct lines lead the eye and indicate the main lines in the compositions.

As the horizontal plane is something else than a narrow stage, temporarily set for illustrative purposes, the figures appear really to be placed behind one another; those farther away can rest on the same plane as the ones in front. It must, however, be admitted that this horizontal grouping is still defective in the Arena frescoes, inasmuch as the figures in the rear often appear to be hard pressed by those in front of them; but Giotto has at least cut loose from the old manner of placing the figures step-like above, instead of behind, one another. He has realized the value of a consistent horizontal grouping, and many times he has succeeded, by indicating successive vertical planes partly crossing each other, in giving an impression of the extension backward of the crowd, although he is not capable of representing the atmosphere between the different layers of figures, or their relative movements. Even when the figures are most imposing they are in a certain measure fixed to the wall, and on this account the majority of these compositions assume a decidedly relief-like character. Several of the frescoes seem composed rather for execution in sculpture than in painting. Possibly the intercourse of the artist with Giovanni Pisano, the greatest contemporary sculptor, exerted a certain influence on the development of his style. This attachment to the surface which characterizes the Arena pictures is, however, beneficial to the decoration. The feeling for the continuity of the enclosing walls is preserved; it is not illusion but rhythmic significance which is of decisive importance in good decorative art.

The style of Giotto's figures is fundamentally plastic, developed under the influence of sculpture. The figures are placed by preference in clear silhouette against the background, the outline is unbroken, the fundamental form is not disturbed by any accentuation of detail. Definite layers, one behind the other, indicate the depth dimension, almost as in reliefs. As a painter-plastician Giotto is the first in the specifically Florentine series of artists, who during the entire Renaissance represent the most vital element in Florentine painting. Giotto's art would be out of place in Siena, to mention only the center nearest to Florence, still more in distant localities

such as Venice or Rome. The clear definition of the plastic qualities of the human body, which we find in Giotto's frescoes, is merely an individual enhancement of that Florentine spirit which loves the hard and definite form better than picturesque softness and *chiaroscuro*.

Yet Giotto cannot be compared to the great painter-plasticians of the Quattrocento in regard to detailed rendering of the human shape. His people always retain a typical basic form, with slight individual modifications. The anatomical structure is veiled by sweeping mantles; the massiveness and unity are emphasized, so that the forms make an impression of unshakable resistance. If we examine the compositions more closely, however, we shall find that the figures are not stone blocks, but mobile human beings. The limbs perform their functions in a convincing manner, the feet are planted firmly on the ground, the hands have the power of grasping, and the head is carried proudly, or inclined gently, on the strong neck. The essential joints in the organic structure stand out in an entirely different way from that in the figures of earlier or later Trecento masters. Although Giotto does not by any means attain the incisive anatomical representation which is so characteristic of the Quattrocento painters, he does produce an impression of the functions of the separate limbs. The compelling energy animating the huge figures is naturally discernible in their movements, and the plastic distinctness of the forms gives them added firmness.

Of prime importance also for the impression of organic articulation is the treatment of the drapery. The mantles are arranged in such fashion that we get an idea of the unity of the large bodies and of the mobility of the limbs. They are gathered at certain essential points, as, for instance, on the shoulders, elbows, hips, knees, etc., according to the poses of the figures, and are from these points spread out, creating broad, plastic forms. Evidently they are the result of a very searching study of models, of an endeavor to attain something better than an external, more or less plausible appearance. In this respect Giotto seems already to have conceived the ambition of the later painter-plasticians toward complete realism, palpable form.

Nude figures are exceptional in the frescoes of Giotto. They occur only in the Last Judgment, if we except Christ in the Baptism, the Crucifixion, and the Pietà. The figure of Christ is beautiful and sensitive, though relatively summary in regard to modeling. The small nude figures among the damned surprise us by their suppleness and agility, apparently unhampered by any shortcomings in anatomical knowledge. The master has a remark-

able eye, not only for the general composition of the body, but also for the correct position and the organic function of the most important muscles. An experienced critic has said that Michelangelo is the first to produce a hell with figures comparable to those of Giotto in expressiveness of forms and movement.

Giotto's powerful expression of form is supplemented by a great dignity in movement and gesture. Even in pictures where the tone is excited and the people are strongly affected (the Massacre of the Innocents, the Crucifixion), the gestures preserve a restraint and balance which are of great importance for the monumental impression. Really we have but one instance of any account where the artist allows the gestures to exceed the limits of moderation and become violent (the Pietà), but even in this case an evident balance is obtained by the counterpoise of the figures and the closed grouping. In short, it is not vivacity, modulation, or richness which are the most characteristic features of Giotto's gestures — in this regard other contemporary artists, like Giovanni Pisano or Ambrogio Lorenzetti, have progressed further — it is rather the *grandezza* and the *modestia* of the men of the High Renaissance: restrained dignity and definition. The gestures of Giotto always denote lofty and profound emotions. The naïve garrulity and excitability of the modern Italian seem completely foreign to the people of this artist; it never occurs to them to entertain one another or the spectator, totally absorbed as they are in the action itself. This preoccupation fascinates the spectator, because, as a rule, the more the actors are engrossed in their parts the more we are affected, the more we become convinced of the seriousness of the drama and of the reality of the emotions. If we recall some typical Quattrocento compositions, with figures turning toward the public or doing something altogether independent of the central action, we easily perceive the significance of the demeanor of the figures in Giotto's pictures.

There is hardly any reason for repeating, in this condensed review, the observations made in the preceding chapter on gestures indicating different feelings. Compassion, amazement, grief, and terror are the most common emotions in the art of Giotto, and these are almost invariably interpreted by the raising of one or both hands, often in connection with an inclination forward or backward of the upper part of the body. When the emotion has been tempered to a certain degree of resignation, the hands are usually folded and raised to the chin, or the cheek is resting on one hand. Only in the angels in the great mourning scenes (the Crucifixion and the Pietà) do we find a

richer scale of gesture, expressing grief and despair: here people are tearing their hair, scratching their faces, wildly flinging their arms, and rending their clothes. But these like most of the other gestures employed by Giotto are to be regarded as mainly traditional. They had, in the course of centuries, gradually been stamped as regular currency for certain emotions; everyone understood their denomination, while their actual value was dependent on the ability with which the artist administered his funds.

Essentially individual gestures are rare in Giotto, as in the other painters of the fourteenth century. There are a few: those of the young man in the Raising of Lazarus, who is pointing one hand toward Christ and raising the other pensively to the chin; the protecting movement of St. John's arm pressing the little boy toward himself, when Christ wields the lash over the money changers; the admonishing gestures of the high priest, when Judas receives his payment; and the musical movement of the violinist's hand in the wedding procession. Other gestures in Giotto's works which might appear individual may be explained as modifications of older ones. However, it is rather through the position of the figures and the general movement of their bodies than through the gestures that Giotto interprets personal emotion.

The movements always proceed in a slow tempo. Even in scenes where the action (*e. g.*, in the Massacre of the Innocents) would have required quicker and more passionate motions, there are no more than tentative suggestions which prove by their lack of freedom that the human figure contained insoluble problems to the artist and that he did not possess the dramatic energy of a Giovanni Pisano. We do not know of a single figure in the compositions of Giotto which is actually running, or hurrying (feeble attempts at such are made in the Expulsion of the Money Changers, Pl. 41), but we find some who are walking rapidly with firm steps (the Flight into Egypt, Pl. 43). This firm and restrained movement is preëminently characteristic of Giotto; both earlier and later painters too easily indulge in fussy haste, for instance, in representing the Adoration of the Magi, or the Meeting of Joachim and Anna. (Compare these scenes as represented by Pietro Cavallini and Taddeo Gaddi.) If we look at Giotto's interpretation of the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, or of the Visitation (Pl. 44), we immediately discover that it is just the imposingly quiet rhythm which impresses us and gives to the representation a deep tone of human dignity and grandeur. Such an *andante maestoso* does not recur in Italian art until the High Renaissance.

VI

THE FRESCOES OF THE CAPPELLA BARDI AND CAPPELLA PERUZZI

BESIDES the frescoes in the Arena chapel at Padua, the paintings in the Cappella Peruzzi and Cappella Bardi in Santa Croce are generally recognized as Giotto's work. According to Vasari, Giotto painted four chapels in the great Franciscan church — the Cappella Tosinighi and the Cappella Giungi as well as the Bardi and Peruzzi — but all the chapels were whitewashed at the end of the seventeenth century, when the church underwent considerable renovation in conformity with the taste of the baroque period. About the middle of the nineteenth century the lime was removed from the Peruzzi and Bardi Chapels, but in the other two the destruction had been more complete, so that it was no longer possible to recover anything of the ancient decoration. Even in the chapels where the paintings had remained intact under the plaster there had been considerable wear and tear, and a more or less thorough-going restoration was considered necessary. Missing portions were retouched, and although the tracings and contours of the old pictures were respected, the coloring is new and the technique is very different from the original. For a nineteenth-century painter it naturally was practically impossible to conform to Giotto's method of expression, no matter how conscientiously he might devote himself to his task. The result is that these frescoes show a somewhat impure and conventionalized style.

This is particularly true of the frescoes in the Bardi Chapel, illustrating scenes from the life of St. Francis; these have suffered considerably more than the paintings in the Peruzzi Chapel and they are now of importance mainly as evidences of Giotto's principles of composition. The Peruzzi frescoes, which present three scenes from the life of St. John the Evangelist and three from the life of St. John the Baptist, have preserved considerably more of the original characteristics of their style. The form values of the magnificent figures still have something of their original power. It must, however, be admitted that these Florentine frescoes, on account of their present condition, cannot be conceded the same importance as the Arena paintings for the study of Giotto's individual style and manner of

expression. We can, therefore, consider these works briefly, dwelling chiefly on the principles of composition exemplified.

The general style of the frescoes justifies ranking them among the most mature work of Giotto, executed some years after his sojourn in Padua, but a more exact dating of these paintings has not as yet been possible. It follows that as St. Louis of Toulouse is one of the four saints who decorate the wall of the Cappella Bardi, it is probable that the painting at least in that chapel was done after 1317, the year of St. Louis' canonization. But Giotto worked for nearly twenty years after that date, and for our part we are inclined to place these paintings some time after 1320.

Concerning the relative date of the two series, also, divergent opinions have been advanced. The most usual practice is to date the frescoes of St. Francis somewhat earlier than those of the two St. Johns, an opinion that naturally arises if one lays stress on the greater scale and general enhancement of the style of the figures and the increasing realism of the St. John frescoes; but on the other hand the St. Francis series attains a more consecutive development of rhythmic composition. Furthermore the Bardi Chapel, where these last were painted, shows a somewhat more complete decorative scheme: the roof is embellished with little allegorical representations of the Franciscan vows, as well as a bust of St. Francis, and the altar wall with four saints, placed two on each side of the big window. Both series, in any case, stand so far away from the paintings in the Arena Chapel, in regard to style, that any relative dating based on greater or less resemblance to these last seems scarcely possible. The Florentine frescoes form a characteristic group by themselves.

It will be convenient to start with a study of the St. Francis frescoes and then to pass to those that illustrate the lives of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist, for even if the two series were painted in the reverse order, the figures in the St. John pictures give a stronger impression of the style which the following generation continued to develop and something of that conception of form which found its highest expression in the creation of Masaccio.

The St. Francis series begins with a representation of the young man denouncing his earthly father (Pl. 45). The scene is an open place before a large palace which is set at an angle, with the corner projecting outward and the walls following two diagonal lines back into the picture. The attempted perspective is somewhat defective, exaggerating the foreshortening, but the slant of the two walls affords a good field for a group of figures on each side of the salient angle;

both groups have an architectonic setting. The chief figure, the youth, naked under the mantle which the bishop flings round him, is placed right in front of the projecting corner, which thus furnishes as it were a sustaining vertical axis for the composition; it is not exactly in the middle of the picture, but a little toward the right. The division on the left is consequently a little the larger, making ample room for the vehement and sweeping gesture of the angry father's arm. Two of the spectators are trying with evident effort to hold him back as he attempts to rush forward, and others show the curiosity inspired by such a sensational spectacle. Behind the bishop stand several monks and choir-boys in attitudes of meditative repose; further out in the wings we see boys about to throw stones at the naked young man. They are prevented from putting into effect this typical manifestation of youth by some older persons who seize one of them by the hair and another by the wrist. Strong and spontaneous life pulses throughout the entire composition. The figures have strikingly ample place to move in, and are not crowded together or fastened to the background as are the figures in the Arena Chapel whenever large gatherings of people are presented.

In the lunette field on the opposite wall we see St. Francis and his companions kneeling before Pope Honorius III, who is confirming the rule of the Order (Pl. 46). Both sitting and kneeling figures are presented in full profile, facing each other; the room in which they are placed is shown straight in front, with foreshortening of floor, walls, and ceiling. From this arrangement the entire composition gains fundamental lucidity. The back wall of the room, divided into square panels, affords a broad and effective background for the numerous profiles. The wall compartments, which are decorated with a leaf pattern, are separated by moldings so placed as to lend admirable emphasis and definition to the figures: St. Francis' head comes opposite a crossing of the frames, and his hand, stretched out in front of him, opposite another frame, so that the somewhat isolated figure receives setting and support. The Pope's throne is raised on a few steps. There is an undulating movement from the Pope, giving his benediction, down to St. Francis and on to the group of friars; the Pope's gesture conveys a fatherly admonition, which the brethren, humbly kneeling, receive in deepest veneration. The disposition of the profiles facing each other illustrates clearly the relation of the giver of the benediction and its recipients.

How anxious the artist was to give his picture unity and completeness of decorative effect is further shown by the addition at each side

of the gabled papal hall of a smaller and lower room. In each of these little antechambers he has placed two large figures. These could scarcely be considered necessary to the presentation of his subject, although they might be accounted for as attendant servants, so the artist's chief concern can hardly have been anything other than the purely formal object of filling two vacant spaces. But whatever the picture gains in point of formal balance from these accessories it loses in its total effect as the presentation of a dominant idea.

Below the representation of the establishment of the Order there occurs a legendary scene: St. Francis before the Sultan (Pl. 47), offering to walk through a flaming fire as proof of his God, on condition that the Mohammedan high priests must do likewise. The scene is enacted in a great hall which fills the whole picture. We look straight back into the room, which no longer has any ceiling, but is enclosed by partition walls hung with costly tapestry. It is probable that a ceiling originally existed but was obliterated in the process of restoration; something of the kind would have helped to enhance the effect of depth. The composition is entirely dominated by the Sultan, who is seated in a high niched throne in the middle of the picture. Owing to the fact that the throne is set back some distance and is constructed like an *aedicula* or niche, the composition has depth, although the movement takes place in the relief plane. The figure of the sultan stands out (a device of space composition which Giotto had not mastered in the Padua frescoes), but he could not come down from his throne without running a risk of falling out of the picture. To the right stands St. Francis, pointing heavenward, ready to step into the fire, and behind him stands a praying friar. On the other side we see the Mohammedan priests, who evidently have no desire to follow their lord's gesture of command in the direction of the fire. One of them goes so far as to resist the efforts of a servant to force him over toward the place of danger. Francis' willingness, the reluctance of the Mohammedan priests, and the inclination of the Sultan in favor of the saint, all are brought out strikingly by the placing and the movement of the figures. The graphic clearness of the centralized composition could scarcely be increased. How great an advance on the tentative and hesitating composition of the same subject in Assisi! There the Sultan is placed in one corner, Francis and the fire in the middle, the Mohammedan priests in the other corner. No trace of concentration or psychic tension such as we find in the Florentine picture offsets the doll-like quality of the figures.

Both in the expressiveness of its composition and in the clearness and harmony of its architectonic design the Florentine painting stands at the summit of Giotto's achievement. It has hardly been surpassed by any similar representation of a judgment scene.

The composition on the opposite wall, St. Francis Appearing to the Brethren at Arles (Pl. 48), is likewise constructed on the principle of centralization. The eye is attracted immediately to the figure in the middle, the saint who, floating in the air, advances from the central one of three arches leading into a room at the back. The scene is divided into two rooms, the front one a loggia or *terrazza*, where the brethren are sitting on low benches, and the rear one, a sort of corridor, also with some figures. This double room is unusually wide and deep. St. Francis comes quietly floating out of the back room with raised arms; the figure looks as though it were lifted by the surrounding arch, which curves down in harmony with the upward curve of the saint's arms. He draws the monks' eyes toward him, he is in motion, he controls and counterpoises the whole like the tongue of a balance.

The picture below, which shows two apparitions in connection with St. Francis' death, has apparently lost considerable detail in course of restoration. On the right we see St. Francis appearing in a dream to the Bishop of Assisi, who lies in a deep sleep on his bed; on the left, Brother Augustine on his deathbed sees St. Francis' last hours in a vision. These two related legends of widely separated scenes are here represented under the same roof (Pl. 49). Possibly there was originally some separating element which has been lost in the restoration. The most effective feature of the composition now remaining, is the group of friars at Augustine's feet, for the figures come out distinctly, almost as if they were free-standing, although they are placed one behind the other.

The famous illustration of the lamentation over the dead St. Francis (Pl. 50) likewise shows, throughout the whole picture, space composition and grouping of the same general style as in the three frescoes last described. The artist has evidently planned a similar disposition of his scenes in all the pictures in this chapel. Except in the first fresco, he has consistently maintained the plane of the actual wall surface, and has kept his point of sight in the middle of the picture. Leading lines, horizontal and vertical, appear in strong contrast; the room usually has no very great depth, but is sumptuous in its display of breadth and affords a firm architectural setting for the figures. The pervading clarity and unity of the space composition is

the basis of the strong decorative impression made by the frescoes in the Bardi Chapel.

The scene is set against a rather high wall divided by broad strips into rectangular areas and is flanked by narrow chapel façades. The bier has been placed before the chapel doors so that as many as possible of the friars may have the privilege of a last farewell to the seraphic brother. It is not quite in the middle of the picture, but a little to the left. St. Francis' head, toward which the eye is drawn, lies in a line formed by the supports of the bier and a portion of the framing of the wall area behind it. The figure is stretched out stiffly in a perfectly horizontal position, contrasting with the groups standing at his head and his feet. These, the solemn and stately representatives of the church with their banner and missal, form a kind of ritual setting for the more animated scene which is enacted closer to the body. Here the figures are no longer calm and stately, but throw themselves on their knees or bend over the corpse. They surround the bier completely, their position and movement forming a group rising pyramidally over its center. In the midst are three kneeling figures on each side. Friars kiss St. Francis' hands and feet, but the doubting nobleman puts his hand in the wound on the saint's side as Thomas once did to Christ. The friar by the pillow seeks in vain to catch a gleam from behind the eyelids closed in death. Even those who stand further away are anxiously making the same attempt to meet the vanished glance; even the monk who has just come out of the chapel on the right looks straight at the dead man's eyes. These are the focus where all rays converge, whence emanates the spiritual force which charges the entire picture. Only one figure makes a motion in any other direction — the ugly and simple-looking friar who sees the soul of St. Francis, a replica in miniature of the dead man, carried to heaven by seraphim. The contrast between him and his neighbor, who is intent on penetrating the dead face with his gaze, sharply brings out the significance of the arrangement: a relief of the feeling of pressure and tension evoked by the band of mourners.

If we compare this picture with Giotto's other famous representation of mourning, the Pietà in the Arena Chapel, we notice that here the unanimous outburst of grief is somewhat subdued, but at the same time better modulated. The elucidation of the spiritual meaning is more restrained, the formal composition more confined. A strictly architectonic framework, clearly dominated by the verticals and horizontals, is marvelously combined with the vibrating expres-

sion of a whole choir of emotions. In pure composition, Giotto has rarely attained a higher point.

An independent picture over the entrance to the chapel illustrates St. Francis receiving the stigmata (Pl. 51). The composition is limited to a single figure, the saint kneeling in a barren mountain landscape. To the right is a little structure resembling a chapel. The landscape shows the same impressive rock formation that we know from Giotto's earlier frescoes. The most remarkable feature, however, is the movement in the kneeling figure. He has been on his knees, turned in profile toward the left. Suddenly, roused by a rushing sound in the air, he raises his right knee and swings the upper part of his body half way round, so that it is almost in full face, and at the same time he turns his head further to look at a seraph, from whom issue five golden beams which strike his hands, his feet, and his side. The vigorous and emphatic torsion of the waist and the head, combining with the extension of the arms, displays the figure magnificently and contributes a strong impression of its cubic volume. This is one of the most fascinating plastic forms that Giotto ever drew.

If one contrasts this picture with the St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata (Pl. 52), of the Upper Church at Assisi, the latter appears to be a structureless dummy; if one chooses for comparison any of the figures in the Arena frescoes, for instance the kneeling youth in the Mocking of Christ, one finds that it is drawn in a far more summary manner. The artist had not yet attained any such thorough rendering of the organic structure of the body as in the later Stigmata picture. In this the treatment of form has become more supple and delicate, the planes of the figure are less harshly differentiated, and the appearance of relief entirely overcome. The figure stands out free in the landscape; one feels that the air moves all round it. The artist has finally attained the pictorial form which begins the direct line of development toward the achievements of Masaccio and the other masters of the Quattrocento. It cannot be too emphatically stated that in these frescoes of St. Francis, Giotto gave the decisive impulse, not only in the iconographical presentation of his subject but in all the principles of composition and especially of space composition, to the entire evolution of Florentine painting in the succeeding century. (Cf. Masaccio, Benozzo Gozzoli, and Ghirlandajo.)

In the Cappella Peruzzi as in the Cappella Bardi we find three large compositions on either wall, but here the saints flanking the

window are omitted. On the right are set forth three scenes from the life of St. John the Evangelist: the Revelation in Patmos, the Raising of Drusiana, the Translation of the Apostle; on the left, three pictures from the story of St. John the Baptist: Zacharias in the Temple (Pl. 53), the Birth and Naming of John (Pl. 54), and Herod's Feast. It might be remarked that the choice of subjects must have struck the Florentines, who considered the Baptist as their special patron, as rather odd, for St. John himself does not appear in any of the pictures except as a newborn child in the Naming scene.

Highest up on the left in a lunette field we see Zacharias officiating at the altar in the temple, while an angel advances toward him with the glad tidings of the birth of a son. Over the altar, which is set almost in the middle, rises a tabernacle on columns, and on the right side a slender structure resembling a portico is indicated. The architecture is quite abstract but gives a certain support to the central part of the composition. On each side are placed a few secondary figures, participating in the scene only as musicians or spectators, but serving to widen out the composition to the limits of the wall space. All the more delicate touches have been lost in the process of restoration.

The second picture is divided into two portions by a partition wall. To the right of this we see the aged Elizabeth lying in her bed, with three women taking care of her; to the left Zacharias, writing the name of the newborn child on a tablet, while the boy is presented to him by a woman who is surrounded by four spectators. Despite the subdivision of what would otherwise form a single picture of the birth and naming, the artist has preserved a certain unity in his treatment of space. The wall in the background is continuous — Zacharias' compartment is only a little lower than Elizabeth's — and the whole structure is placed at an angle to the surface plane. The arrangement of space thus introduced is consistently maintained in all four large frescoes in the Cappella Peruzzi. The scene of action in these four pictures, facing each other in pairs, is always turned obliquely to the plane of the chapel walls, so that the deepest part of the room in the picture is furthest away from the entrance. The artist unquestionably desired to produce the illusion of an actual room which extends back to a considerable depth, approximately in the direction of the line of sight of a man standing in the middle of the chapel entrance. To be sure, this appearance is suggested rather than fully carried out, because the artist lacked the requisite knowl-

edge of perspective; none the less his intention is unmistakable and the resulting effect is by no means unimportant in the total decorative impression made by these monumental compositions.

The figures in the Birth and Naming picture are notably large and stately, draped in plastic robes that have evidently suffered, in the painting of the folds, under the hand of the restorer. The same is true of the white bed-clothes covering Elizabeth: these have lost their original soft folds and have been drawn almost skin-tight. Behind the bed stand two women, shown only from the waist up, and from the door in the left foreground another woman is walking into the room, her back half-turned to the beholder. All three figures form an effective contrast to the woman stretched out on the bed. They are entirely free-standing in the room, which incidentally affords plenty of space for the big bedstead. It is not a mere abstraction or foil for the characters, as at Padua (cf. the Birth of the Virgin), but has concrete existence, making a cubic body of air about the figures. The two elements of the composition, figures and architecture, seem to be more independent of each other than previously. The figures intersect only as verticals and horizontals, and each one brings to bear its full value as a free-standing form.

The feeling of dignity and solemnity which dominates the right side of the picture is still more accentuated in the Naming of John. The room is even lower, the figures more numerous, the interior more completely enclosed, the emotional import condensed. The aged Zacharias sits on a stool, bending forward, resting his writing-tablet on his knee, plunged in profound meditation. The woman carrying the lively child and the other figures stand waiting in reverent silence before the dumb patriarch; there issues from him a compelling stillness. The composition offsets his powerful figure against the standing group, which gathers in close, as though attempting visibly to distinguish and separate itself from the rest of the room. The artist has apparently had the same object in view in placing the two figures with their backs turned, one on each side of the partition, and walking in opposite directions. Either half of the picture thereby attains its independent effect, whereas the continuity of the room lends to the total impression of the picture additional dignity and strength.

The lowest picture shows Herod's Feast (Pl. 55), and here Giotto has attained his freest, most natural expression, both in space composition and in figure characterization. The whole scene is stamped with surprisingly graphic realism. The banquet table is laid in an open hall, supported at one end on slender columns, but at the other

end closed off by a more substantial wall from a smaller room in which the last tableau of the drama is presented. The hall, as has already been pointed out, slants back into the picture; it begins a short distance from the limit of the wall space, leaving room for a dungeon that rises partly behind the hall and thus adds to the effect of depth. The severe and massive prison-tower has distinct value as contrast to the elegant architecture and rich decoration of the loggia. Above all it gives to the open hall, set slantwise to the surface of the picture, an impression of capaciousness which greatly enhances the dramatic effect. This stands out all the more plainly if one recalls the banquet scene — the Marriage in Cana — in the Arena Chapel, in which picture the intensity of feeling is scarcely less, but the hall has the character of an accidental area surrounding the figures, not of a clear, open stage where the action unfolds with natural freedom.

It is the most tense moment of the last act of the drama which is presented: Salome has finished her dance — her boon is granted. A soldier enters, in buff coat and helmet, bearing the head of the Baptist on a charger. There is general consternation in the hall. One of the guests turns to cast a reproachful glance at Herod, another averts his face and raises his hands in protest. The two serving women behind Salome stand as though fascinated. They are huddled against each other, ready to run from the room, if only they could tear their gaze from the bleeding head. The one person who remains undismayed is the musician — he calmly continues playing on his big viola, which he handles with evident appreciation of his music. To the right in an adjoining room we see Salome, delivering the head to Herodias; thus a subsequent incident is introduced into the same composition.

Most striking in this picture is the strong sustained emotion that runs like a shudder through the whole composition. The figures reflect this in different ways, varying, if not so much as individuals, at least as diversified types of human nature. It may have seemed somewhat strange to the artist's contemporaries to find such lively realism in a representation of a well known Biblical story and undoubtedly Giotto met with approval far more universal than we should be willing in our day to accord to the illustration of a Biblical subject in modern dress. The later Trecento painters seem to have held this picture in special esteem, judging from the frequency with which we find Giotto's fresco reproduced in more or less faithful copies. (*E.g.*, in Taddeo Gaddi's frescoes in Castello del Poppi, Casentino, and in Agnolo Gaddi's predella in the Louvre.)

The cycle on the opposite wall starts with a representation of St. John in Patmos. The apostle sits sleeping with his head resting on his hand in the little flat island in the sea; round him in the air the various revelations succeed each other like the figures in a kaleidoscope, not suggested as abstractions, but endowed with the volume and force of actual existing shapes. It is rather noteworthy that Giotto has collected into one picture what usually is divided into several. The perspective of the sea is effective, but we must not draw definite conclusions as to the artist's ability as a sea painter from the evidence of one much restored fresco.

The next picture shows the raising of Drusiana from the dead (Pl. 56) by St. John the Evangelist. This composition, rich in figures, is concentrated with masterly dramatic skill round the main incident, the reviving of the dead woman. The connection between the saint and the woman is so surely emphasized that it makes clear the meaning of the miracle scene. The mighty apostle stands a little to the left in the picture, turned in profile. He reaches forth his right hand toward the woman on the bier and gazes steadily into her face. She seems to rise without any effort on her part, as though drawn by magnetic force — and tries to lift her hands toward the apostle. Their gestures correspond: we understand that one transmits power, the other receives it. John's miracle-working faculty is perhaps even more strongly attested by the attitude of the two figures (relatives of the woman), who kneel trembling at his feet in humble gratitude, almost worshipping him. Behind the apostle we see a youth with arms crossed in prayer, who seems to be offering praise to a higher power. A cripple, propped on crutches, presses forward in the obvious hope that he, too, may be healed. On the opposite side, round the resurrected woman, the bystanders give vent to astonishment. The nearest leans forward to see if it is possible to convince himself of the fact; a second throws up his hands in amazement. Of the others, some crane their necks to see better; from these outward the interest diminishes, so that the last figures on each side show no apparent trace of any participation in the incident. Into the background are introduced a crenellated city wall and a church with Gothic windows and several low domes, perhaps inspired by St. Anthony's at Padua. This space-creating, architectural element again takes a slanting direction into the picture, and half-way along there is an angle in the wall which further accentuates the illusion of depth. The city gate on the left forms a rhythmic counterpoise to the lofty nave with its domes on the right.

The figures show the same large proportions as in the preceding frescoes, the same monumental bearing. If one wishes to be convinced of what this monumental dignity, clear spacing, and architectonic balance mean for the artistic effect of the composition, one should simply compare Giotto's painting with Filippino Lippi's rendering of the same subject in the Cappella Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella. The later composition will perhaps more quickly appeal to the casual observer, thanks to its ornamental embellishment and its gay, dancing figures, but a thorough study reveals which master it was who gave to the story its classic form.

The last illustration from the life of St. John the Evangelist marks, from various points of view, the culmination of Giotto's art. More freely and surely than in any other composition the artist has here solved the problems of both space and motion. If the fresco had been a little better preserved, it would probably appeal to us more by its pictorial qualities and its treatment of light and air, even apart from the expressiveness of the drawing of its figures. The subject is the translation of St. John the Evangelist (Pl. 57).

Giotto has not followed Simeon Metaphrastes' account of St. John's last hours (as is sometimes stated)¹ according to which the pupils who come to the apostle's church in the morning find empty the grave where he had been laid in the evening. Instead he has followed the Golden Legend, where the translation takes place suddenly in the presence of the whole assemblage. "When he had finished his prayer (in the grave which he had caused to be dug for him in front of the altar) he was surrounded by so strong a light that no one could look at him and, when the light disappeared, they found no man in the grave." This blinding marvel Giotto has tried to present in a concrete picture and he has succeeded in bringing out the essentials by the masterly disposition of the group of spectators, who in the gradually increasing reflection of feeling show the working of the miracle of light.

The aged apostle soars upward, enveloped in golden rays, but the men in the temple cannot see him — the flood of light blinds them. The nearest on the right side has thrown himself on the ground, hiding his face in his hands, the next shades his eyes and bends his body suddenly backward. Beside him stands an old man who instinctively clasps his hands in prayer as he sees the marvel. Whatever was directly behind has been lost in restoration; the two characters farther to the right seem to have no connection with what is going on.

¹ Cf. C. Guasti, *La Cappella de Peruzzi*.

The figures on the opposite side of the grave are equally unable to see the apostle, although he floats upward immediately in front of them. They look instead down into the grave, which they find empty. Wonder and amazement control their expression and attitude. The man nearest the foreground hesitatingly lifts his hand to his chin; he stands as though paralyzed by the light, while his neighbor raises his hands in the usual manner to express his astonishment. The action takes place in the central aisle of a basilica, which once more is placed slantwise in the picture. The building has a comparatively independent existence; it fulfills its purpose in space composition satisfactorily, but naturally it is simplified in order to give prominence to the figures. The cornice, the clerestory, and the vaulted roof are cut so that the soaring apostle and the heavenly figures that receive him may be more clearly shown. The apostle's head is placed in the middle of the cornice line, and his figure is set between two columns — strongly marked horizontals and verticals contrasting with the pliant inclination of the body and asserting its buoyant gliding motion. The contrast is also clearly indicated between the slow ascent of the apostle and the gesture of Christ, who welcomes and assists him upward. The artist has not wished to give any ethereal sublimation of the subject, but has tried rather to make the miracle credible on a material basis. Every figure, heavenly as well as earthly, has its full volume and a movement that can be accounted for on an organic basis. Yet, there is something more, a prodigy of power of expression, in the way in which the monumental figure of the saint lifts its own weight and is drawn upward by an irresistible force.

The upward surge of the apostle is counterbalanced by the contrasting movement of the men placed firmly on the ground about the grave, of those who bend forward, and of the one who throws himself down. It is especially the idea developed in the presentation of the men round the grave which furnishes the full artistic explanation and completes the structure of the composition. The side-groups stand at the two extreme ends of the nave. They act as weights or burdens on a yoke which finally bursts in the middle as the straining power breaks through the material opposition. The figures are colossal in proportion to the building — they could reach the capitals of the columns with their hands — yet we could scarcely complain of any oppressive crowding of the space.

Here Giotto has plainly discovered a means of artistic expression quite adequate for the representation of the human shape as a

tridimensional form, placed in a definite lighting. The distance from these figures in the Peruzzi Chapel to those which Masaccio painted a hundred years later in the Brancacci Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine is not really as great as might appear at first sight. The fundamental plastic forms of Giotto are quite as powerful as those of Masaccio, and he is by no means inferior in the matter of presentation of weight, volume, and strength. But the forms are less differentiated, the mobility of Giotto's figures is not yet as developed as Masaccio's and, above all, the modeling in light and shade still remains in its weakest beginnings.

If we look at Masaccio's well known Rendering of the Tribute Money, we find the figures of Christ and the apostles entirely immersed in light and air. They advance, completely detached from the material surface, in the foreground of a wide-sweeping landscape with atmosphere that fades into the horizon and a ground plane that stretches to the distant sea and sky. The landscape is no longer a decorative element of the architectonic composition as it is with Giotto, it is an artistically synthesized view from nature, real enough to make the beholder feel that he could move freely in it and get into contact with the figures.

In Giotto's frescoes this is not yet the case, we are not tempted to step into the picture and approach the figures. His people belong to a race whose abstract greatness makes them less approachable and intelligible than the creations of later painters. They live in a world of thinner air and larger forms than we are accustomed to. They are representatives of a humanity among whom individual differentiation has not yet excluded the generalized and the symbolic. It is perhaps for that very reason that they always succeeded to such an unusual extent in stimulating the imagination and the sense of form of later painters. It is as though they had preserved more of the eternal, fresh, pulsating fountain of nature, of the primitive, creating impulse than most of the later, more "natural" figures.

It is certain that Giotto's Florentine frescoes were of the highest importance to the subsequent development of art in the city on the Arno. I refer not only to their significance to the more immediately succeeding generations of Trecento painters who found here their starting-point, but rather to what they meant to the great painters of later times who strove toward the same ideal. Masaccio, of course, is directly inspired by Giotto. His method of artistic expression attained greater freedom, but the fundamental quality of his sculptural form was of the same kind. What lies between him and Giotto

seems to sink into relative insignificance when one attempts to survey the development with regard to the central problem: the significance of form in the human figure.

The greatest master of the beginning of the following century, Michelangelo, also learned from Giotto. We recognize that in his earlier productions, and we have evidence of it in his drawings. Michelangelo sketched among others the right-hand group of spectators from the Translation of St. John (the drawings are to be found in the Albertina collection in Vienna) and probably other figures from the same frescoes, although the rest of the drawings are no longer in existence. Michelangelo's figure painting also is impelled by the striving after symbolic greatness in the human body, and is stamped with an intense feeling for plastic form. That is one main point of agreement between Giotto and Michelangelo in their comprehension of the human figure, and it is clearly perceptible, despite the tremendous increase of movement and dynamic energy that raises Michelangelo's figures to another plane. In Michelangelo's work we find hardly any figure which is entirely at rest, for even when his people are not actually moving they take attitudes in which the turn of the body or the tension of the limbs bears witness to a concentrated energy that is repressed only with effort. The fundamental form therefore does not appear as evident and complete as in Giotto. The composition is made up of knots of motion and acquires a more or less centrifugal character. The clear rhythmic design which gives to Giotto's productions such a strong architectonic effect is dissolved and compensated for by principles of pictorial composition.

As a designer of plastic forms Giotto gives the deciding impulse to Florentine painting. Earlier than anyone else he formulated the principle for the representation of the human figure later followed by the greatest among the painters of Florence. The Peruzzi Chapel is the starting-point of the whole subsequent development.

VII

PANEL PICTURES BY GIOTTO AND HIS ASSISTANTS

GIOTTO'S artistic style was especially adapted to large wall surfaces. The sides of churches and chapels formed, so to speak, his easel. It was as a painter of fresco that he won his greatest victories and opened new fields of expression for painting; through an architectonic manner of composition he attained his most imposing monumental effects. Easel painting had for him no independent significance.

In his quality of pure fresco painter, Giotto is a typical representative of the art of Florence in the fourteenth century. Painting in Florence always remained primarily an art of narration in fresco, while the need for devotional pictures was to no small extent met by importation from Siena or by the work of Florentine painters who had followed the trend of the Sienese school. The Florentines had never to the same degree as the Sienese the taste for elegant small-scale tempera painting on a smooth plaster surface; they never sought the graceful and charming, but preferred solid, powerful forms. Drawing is the basic quality in their art more than in that of their other contemporaries — drawing as the medium of significant form.

Until recently, hardly more than one panel picture has been universally accepted as Giotto's work: the large and massive Madonna (Pl. 58) in the Accademia at Florence. To be sure, this picture is not signed, but it is mentioned as early as Ghiberti — in whose time it belonged to the church of Ognissanti in Florence — and its correspondence in style to the frescoes in the Arena Chapel is so evident that no doubt as to the authorship could ever arise.

The picture is of the same old-fashioned shape as Cimabue's Madonna hanging beside it — a broad rectangle with a low triangular pediment, a form soon replaced by more flexible and elegant Gothic designs. The composition is, however, notably free from the old-fashioned constraint and flatness. The whole has an emphatically tridimensional character.

The Madonna sits on a Gothic throne, approached by two broad steps. She is thus moved a short distance back into the picture, and the depth of the throne is further emphasized by its niche-like,

vaulted back, surmounted by a Gothic gable with a quatrefoil and crockets. The extremely lightly constructed sides are pierced at two levels as though by large Gothic windows; their terminal pilasters are continued up into slender finials. The visible surfaces of the steps, the bench, and the back are decorated with conventionalized foliate ornament interspersed with geometrical designs. The attenuated Gothic forms of the throne contrast with the heavy figure of the Madonna. She gives the impression of overpowering, almost statuesque, bodily form. It is no longer the traditional *ὀδυγίτρεια* with the head sentimentally inclined and the hand pointing to the child, such as we see in Cimabue's pictures, but a more conscious and lofty woman. Her mantle is not laid in flat folds and calligraphic lines closely following the silhouetted form, but falls in broad planes to the floor, ending without any ornamental convolutions. It swathes the whole body from head to foot, bringing out its massiveness. Nothing of the organic form is visible except the neck and breast, which are not covered by the mantle. The figure is impressive because of its block-like mass.

The child, too, is of a very powerful type, with a broad body and a large, round head. He is supposed to be sitting on the Madonna's right knee, but the position is not correctly indicated, unless one assumes a cushion under the child. The figure is not characterized in an incisive or striking manner, but is like a grown person in miniature. The modeling, however — in the arms and legs, for instance — is on quite a different plane from Cimabue's. Giotto's *bambino* appears coarse beside Cimabue's; the decorative beauty, the dominating linear style, has been replaced by a frank effort toward clear and convincing form. The artistic expression is, indeed, less mature in Giotto, in whose work unsolved difficulties are more noticeable, but the problem is attacked from an entirely new point of view, a point of view that has come to prevail in western art, down to the present day.

Of highest importance to the natural and sympathetic effect of Giotto's picture are the figures which stand round the Virgin's throne, especially the kneeling angels with vases of flowers. They are placed in the extreme foreground beside the steps of the throne, thus indicating the foremost vertical plane of the space composition. Both are turned in full profile and look up at the Christ-child with an expression of deepest devotion, doing him homage with their golden flower-filled vases. On the upper step stand two larger angels offering the crown and the oil of anointment to the newborn king.

Behind these appear the heads of two more angels, and higher up rows of three saints, on each side of the Madonna. These figures, which are placed in the narrow spaces between the throne and the frame of the picture, stand actually behind each other but at the same time on a rising plane. It apparently has not been possible for the artist to keep all the figures on a consistently horizontal level. The desire not to leave the upper portion of the picture unoccupied in comparison with the lower may have been a contributory reason for the building up of the groups at the sides. Placed as they are, they form a fair and reverent guard about the gigantic Madonna and child. The gaze of saints and angels is fixed upon the child in expectant veneration. And these figures are no longer as in Cimabue symbolic supporters of the heavenly throne, but real beings, standing on the same ground as the Virgin's chair. The whole is a unified and enclosed space composition.

The color scheme is rather light. The Madonna wears a thin, white garment lying soft on the breast, and a thick, deep blue mantle covering the rest of the figure. The child's tunic is pale red. The angels close to the throne wear light green mantles, those further away, cinnabar red; the kneeling angels are in pure white, loose-falling tunics. The steps and the ornaments of the throne also display light tones; the artist has evidently sought an impression of festal brilliance.

A fuller discussion of the stylistic correspondences between this picture and the Padua frescoes is hardly necessary. Everyone who has seen both recognizes the identity of form. This Madonna could without difficulty occupy a place in the Arena Chapel, and seems to have been painted almost in direct sequence with the frescoes. It is possible, of course, that a few years intervened.

Both Ghiberti and Vasari mention in connection with this Madonna other pictures which Giotto painted for the church of Ognissanti, and among these both authors especially refer to a Dormition of the Virgin (Pl. 59), surrounded by the twelve apostles and numerous angels. Vasari asserts that this picture was particularly esteemed by Michelangelo, who is said to have remarked that the subject could not be rendered more truthfully than Giotto had done it. When Vasari published the second edition of his book (1568) the picture was no longer in its original place "in the middle of the church" where it had been when he published his first edition. Further information concerning this picture does not appear in the literature of art until the middle of the nineteenth century, when it

was in the possession of the English collector, Davenport-Bromley. It is said to have belonged to Cardinal Fesch at the beginning of that century and to have been acquired at auction after the cardinal's death by Mr. Bromley. When the whole Bromley collection was placed on sale at Christie's in 1863 the picture was bought back by the family for £997, which indicates that the picture was highly appreciated. It remained, however, almost hidden from the eyes of the world at Capesthorne in the north of England. To be sure, it is mentioned by Waagen in his work on the art treasures of England, and by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, but as it was never exhibited nor reproduced it remained practically unknown to the younger generation of students. It is not mentioned in a single one of the special works on Giotto published at the end of the last and beginning of the present century.¹

But there were more vigilant eyes than those of the student which did not lose sight of it. Perseverance was naturally crowned with success; the picture was finally acquired in the spring of 1914 by a well known dealer in London. It was cleaned, and was found to be in fairly good condition except for the golden ground, which had unfortunately been renewed. It has finally passed into the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin.

The shape of the picture is rather unusual. It is low and broad (ca. 1.50 m.), running up to an obtuse point at the top, but square-ended. This shape suggests that it was painted to fill a space in some definite part of a larger scheme, or, more probably, to fill a gable above a door or a choir-screen. The grouping of the figures closely follows the contour of the panel, only a narrow strip of the golden ground appearing above the heads of the figures and another strip of grayish-brown soil in the foreground. This decided correspondence of the composition to the shape likewise points to a definite, decorative mission.

The central portion is occupied by a large, stone sarcophagus into which the body is being lowered on a pall by two angels. An aged apostle who kneels before the sarcophagus takes a last, tender farewell, clasping the corpse in his arms. The other apostles stand in prayer, deeply moved, showing their participation by their gestures and movements. St. Peter, as usual, reads the mass for the dead; St. Andrew sprinkles the holy water on the body. None of them seems to be aware of the supernatural manifestation in their midst: Christ, with the soul of the departed in his arms. He forms the main

¹ This picture was discussed by F. M. Perkins and B. Berenson in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1914.

axis of the composition, rising above the others into the triangular gable. His figure stands isolated back of the sarcophagus, immediately attracting the chief attention. By way of further support and affirmation, this vertical axis is carried down in front of the sarcophagus by a kneeling figure, whose contour practically continues the lines of the figure of Christ. The depth dimension is brought out by this arrangement, and the strong vertical counteracts the pressure of the heavy, horizontal masses on both sides. The groups on the wings are, however, not entirely equivalent: the angels and apostles to the right form a more compressed mass than the figures to the left, around the Virgin's head, where the more intimate friends — St. Peter, St. John, and the women — are stationed, and the movement is freer. The angels are vigorous, youthful figures, with long mantles and large wings; only those who bear the candles are smaller, like half-grown choir-boys. The presence of all these celestial witnesses gives to the representation a half-supernatural character. The artist evidently has not intended to create an impression of reality, as in the narrative frescoes. The composition has an abstract, purely decorative, significance, but this has not prevented the artist giving the foremost figures, both apostles and angels, full plastic volume. These figures produce the dominating impression and define the artistic reality.

The more we look into the different groups the more we are fascinated by the psychological characterization: on one side the grizzled old men, stooping heavily over the body, plunged in gloom; on the other, the youthful angels whispering to each other as though they had a notion of something mysterious coming to pass through the presence of their divine Lord. The rhythm of the lines is restful and serene, rising in slow tempo up toward Christ, especially in the bowed figures at each end of the sarcophagus. The angels carrying the body, together with the candle-bearers and the apostle kneeling in front, form a ring round the sarcophagus, which thereby gains still more palpable importance as the concentration point of the composition.

The coloring is vivid and rather light. Round a pale brick-red sarcophagus with a border of mosaic, above which the angels hold the pale green pall, are grouped mantles of light blue, green, yellow, red, and white. The colors are strongest toward the wings: to the right, light blue, violet, and brick-red; to the left, in the same order, carmine, light blue, and orange. The color scheme is here higher in tone than in any other work by Giotto.

The style indicates that the picture must be assigned to a relatively mature period in the master's development. The tall, stately figures in plastically draped mantles recall the personages in Giotto's frescoes at Santa Croce. Especially in the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, Herod's Banquet, and the Raising of Drusiana, one finds figures with the same proportions and the same kind of drapery. This does not set a definite date for the picture, but implies that it was painted in the twenties of the fourteenth century.

Among Giotto's own easel pictures we must also mention some small panels, now scattered in different collections, but evidently the remains of a longer series illustrating the life of Christ (Pl. 60). The scenes which survive are the following: 1. The Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi (Metropolitan Museum, New York); 2. The Last Supper (Old Pinakotek, Munich); 3. The Presentation in the Temple (Mrs. J. L. Gardner, Boston); 4. The Crucifixion (Munich); 5. The Entombment (Mr. B. Berenson, Settignano); 6. Christ in Limbo (Munich). All these pictures except No. 3 measure approximately 44 x 45 cm.; the slight differences in measurement which appear, hardly to be verified without removing the pictures from their frames, may be explained by uneven trimming of the panels.

The Last Supper, evidently owing to later ill-treatment, has lost most, particularly in height. The proportions of the figures are, however, the same throughout, and the stylistic correspondences are so obvious that we must assume that all were done successively under the same guidance, if not entirely by the hand of the master. The series to which they belonged must naturally have comprised more than these six pictures. Several are now lacking, particularly between the Presentation and the Last Supper. The exact number missing is difficult to determine, but one may state without hesitation that the lost pictures must have been at least as many as those preserved. We may recall, for comparison, that Taddeo Gaddi's series of illustrations of the life of Christ, on about the same scale, consists of twelve scenes. These are now in the Accademia in Florence, but they originally served, together with the corresponding series from the life of St. Francis, as panels in the doors of cupboards in the sacristy of Santa Croce. Vasari assigns these pictures to Giotto — a mistake which has often been pointed out. Possibly the old biographer knew that Giotto had painted something of the same kind? The assumption is easy that Giotto's pictures fulfilled a similar purpose. Further, they were evidently executed for a Franciscan church, because in the Crucifixion St. Francis is kneeling

at the foot of the cross, together with two donors. Maybe the rediscovery of more of the missing pictures will some day give us further information as to the original extent and object of the series.

The first pictures in the series are the best preserved, and reveal the purest artistic qualities. The representation of the Nativity is in a most unusual way combined with the Adoration of the Magi. Mary lies under a low shelter on a ledge of rock; in front of her on a lower level stands the large manger; and still lower, in the foreground, kneels the old king, lifting the child out of the manger, while Joseph, who stands to the left, holds the royal offering. The two younger kings stand waiting at the other side. In the foreground lie some goats and sheep, as natural as in the frescoes of Giotto, and the dog is on the mountain with the shepherds. The shepherds are listening to the song of the angels, and thus, in direct opposition to the Gospel story, they will come to adore the child after the kings, who have arrived early. The fusion of these two subjects, commonly separate, is carried out with remarkable sureness and grace. Only the necessary figures are included, and these are so placed that their significance and relation at once appear. The pyramidal design and unified space of the composition is achieved by the use of the rock as a combining element, rising in broad stages from the foreground and culminating in a peak above the roof of the shelter. It is the same general arrangement that we saw in the Nativity in the Arena Chapel, though there the figures were fewer and smaller in relation to the mountain. The problem was in that case simpler, and the solution less forced, but the artistic value of the composition in the little picture appears to us to be about as high as in the fresco.

The individual figures have the strong, plastic forms that we are accustomed to find in Giotto's people; Mary and the standing king, especially, are splendid examples of monumental design. The standing king may be compared with Joachim in the representation of his return to the shepherds. Joseph is the same old man with a broad head as in the Padua frescoes, Mary can perhaps best be compared with the great Madonna in the Accademia. The types are Giotto's throughout; the drapery is treated with all the sculptured firmness that we find in the frescoes.

The second picture in the series, the Presentation in the Temple, stands on the same level in regard to quality, but the composition is simpler and iconographically less important. It consists of only four figures: Mary and Joseph, Simeon and Hannah, placed on either side of an altar under a Gothic tabernacle supported by slender

columns. Mary reaches over the altar toward the child, who struggles in the arms of Simeon. Hannah is prophesying, and Joseph stands waiting with the sacrificial dove. The figures all stand nearly in the same forward plane, despite the painter's obvious attempt to place the altar and the figures on an oblique line running inward. A comparison with the same scene in the Arena Chapel is hardly to the advantage of the smaller picture, because in the fresco the problem of the obliquely placed altar is more successfully solved. The figures, however, entirely correspond to those in the Nativity described above. Mary and Joseph are identical in the two pictures, Simeon has the same noble old head with streaming locks as the kneeling king. The child also is the same in the two pictures. They evidently cannot be separated; if we admit one as Giotto's work, we must include the other also.

The Last Supper, in Munich, is not so well preserved, but evidently it was worthy of the master. The composition is arranged along the same fundamental lines as in Padua, with the ponderous apostles sitting on benches along both sides of a table, at the head of which Christ is seated with the sleeping John resting his head on his breast.

The Crucifixion has lost still more in the hands of the modern restorer; originally the figures probably had better defined, plastic form than they have now. In their present condition they look worn, and the folds of the drapery are only vaguely defined, in comparison with the other pictures. Undoubtedly the impression once was stronger and the master's share in the picture more apparent. The figures have, after all, the same basic qualities as in the rest of the set. One notices especially the tall St. John who is bending sideways and looking across at the swooning Virgin. Nicodemus, behind St. John, shows the same type as Joseph in the Nativity and in the Presentation. At the foot of the cross St. Francis and two donors are kneeling; the man, who wears the embroidered dress of a deacon, seems to be a high church functionary; his beautiful profile has a distinct, individual character.

The Entombment and the Descent into Limbo have also suffered considerably in the course of centuries, yet the latter composition is remarkable in its dramatic expressiveness. Christ, followed by a disciple, stands in the gate of Limbo, which opens into a riven mountain. The guardian demons have fallen asleep, and out of the cavern unhindered come creeping several venerable patriarchs and an old woman (Eve ?) whom Christ and his follower receive. Meanwhile up on the ledges of the cliff, which drops precipitously down

into the bottomless pit, devils are torturing some unfortunates with care and precision. These parts of the picture, the fantastic cliffs and the small figures on them, are, however, entirely repainted, and it is very likely that a thorough cleaning of the panel would bring out a rather different, less naturalistic mountain ridge.

Formerly, the three pictures in Munich were attributed to Giotto, but in the latest catalogue they are ascribed to the school of Giotto. The same cautious labeling is used for the picture in the Metropolitan Museum, while Mrs. Gardner's picture has been assigned by several authorities to Giotto himself. Approaching the problem sincerely and without prejudice, one finds it hard to sustain these distinctions. The minor variations of quality between the pictures may be accounted for rather as the result of unequal states of preservation than as evidence of different hands, though the master may, of course, have been assisted by pupils in the execution of some of the panels in this series.

Among the large crucifixes which at different times have been attributed to Giotto we can only accept one as his own work: the crucifix (Pl. 61) in the sacristy of the Arena Chapel at Padua. This is superior to all the others (in different churches in Florence) particularly in the sensitive modeling of the naked figure and in the intense expressiveness of Mary and St. John, who are represented as half-figures on the arms of the cross. It is altogether worthy of the master's own hand and must be ranked among his finest paintings on panel.

None of the paintings so far mentioned bears Giotto's signature, and we have found the criteria for attribution to Giotto in the qualities of their style. On the other hand, there exist several pictures signed with Giotto's name in which internal evidence does not confirm the assertion of the signature. These are works which evidently have officially passed as Giotto's, but in which the master's personal participation has been more or less insignificant. They represent Giotto's workshop, and they apparently have been executed with the assistance of pupils at times when the master himself was too busy with large frescoes to devote much care to smaller orders.

Foremost among these pictures should be mentioned the large representation of St. Francis receiving the stigmata (Pl. 62) in the Louvre, which is provided with the authentic signature: "OPUS JOCTI FLORENTINI." This picture, formerly in the church of St. Francis at Pisa, is described by Vasari among Giotto's works. The main

figure, St. Francis kneeling on the rock, turned in profile to the right, bears a palpable likeness to the figure in the stigmata fresco in the Upper Church at Assisi. Either the fresco served as model for the panel, or both are derived from some famous older original. In any case the Louvre picture is traditional rather than free in its artistic character, and does not show any likeness to the Stigmatization in Santa Croce. Giotto's personal share in this production cannot have been very great. The rock, the building, and the figure of Christ floating down on seraph wings, reveal greater freedom than in the Assisi fresco, perhaps because in these parts the artist did not feel himself so closely bound to the existing models sanctioned by tradition, but had more freedom to take the purely decorative point of view. The most fascinating parts of this picture are, however, the three small predella scenes showing the dream of Pope Innocent, the confirmation of the rule of the Order, and the sermon to the birds (Pl. 63). These likewise show striking resemblance to the corresponding incidents at Assisi, thus further affirming that the Louvre picture can hardly have been painted independently of the Assisi frescoes. Situated in the central church of the Franciscan Order, these paintings probably assumed at an early date almost canonical authority in the illustration of the life of the saint (quite independent of the identity of the master), and under the circumstances it is only natural that the friars at Pisa desired similar representations in their large picture. Though his iconography remains entirely traditional, the artist has notably improved upon the weak space composition and the limp figure drawing which we observed in the Assisi frescoes. The credit *may* belong to Giotto, who probably contributed sketches at least to the compositions, but one hesitates to reckon the picture as a whole among his works, considering the insignificance and the faulty articulation of the chief figure. Besides, the picture has lost a great deal from wear and restoration.

Another picture (Pl. 64), signed with Giotto's name which, though good in parts, cannot be regarded as the master's own work, is in the Pinacoteca at Bologna. It is a polyptych of the usual type, made up of five separate parts set in a Gothic frame that has been none too successfully renovated. In the central panel the Madonna sits in full front, though without any marked hieratic bearing of the body. To her right stand the Archangel Gabriel and St. Peter, to her left St. Michael and St. Paul. In a medallion above the Virgin appears God the Father with the two swords issuing from his mouth (according to the Book of Revelation) and the globe and the key in his hands;

in five larger medallions in the predella are busts of Christ, Mary, St. John, the Magdalen, and the Baptist. On the step of the throne we read in Gothic majuscules: "OP MAGISTRI IOCTI D FLORÄ." The signature is unquestionably authentic.

Despite the traditional division into five equal leaves, each with one figure, the *ancona* makes an original impression, owing to the variety of attitudes and the spontaneous movement that the artist has succeeded in bringing into the design. Gabriel, the angel of the Annunciation, advances toward the Madonna, pronouncing his heavenly greeting; St. Michael stands in full front, his head foreshortened, bending forward as he runs his lance into the jaws of the dragon and crushes its spine with his foot. St. Peter also seems to move toward the Madonna, using a slender cross as staff and displaying a large key. St. Paul takes a step sideways, thrusting his sword in the ground and grasping a large volume in his left hand, as though preparing to defend what he has written with impassioned words. The differences of temperament are indicated by pose and movement. The least interesting figure is undeniably the Madonna. She is small in comparison with the saints; her face has a peculiarly pointed shape owing to the veil tightly bound under her chin. The child on the contrary is a more animated little figure than the *bambino* in Giotto's Madonna in the Accademia at Florence.

A difference in technical execution is also discernible between the Madonna and the saints. The central part is painted more carefully, with a finer brush, than the wings, which clearly bespeak the fresco painter. The reddish-violet garments of the archangels are broadly and cursorily painted, with bluish-gray shadows in the folds. At close range they seem almost unfinished, but at a greater distance they stand out like fresco painting. It appears easier to trace the master's hand in the summarily executed, flanking figures, with their striking positions, than in the comparatively insignificant central figure. The altarpiece must have been painted in Giotto's studio by one or more pupils in collaboration with the master, or under his direction. As it is not the work of a single man it is all the harder to date surely. Most probably, however, the picture belongs to a comparatively advanced period in the activity of Giotto's *bottega*.

The third of Giotto's signed paintings is the large representation of the Coronation of the Virgin (Pl. 65), which used to hang in the Cappella Baroncelli in Santa Croce (now in the Cappella Medici), and takes its name therefrom. This stately altarpiece, in five sections, which has lost in decorative value owing to the addition in the

fifteenth century of a heavy, rectangular frame, is now generally regarded as a school work, although it is inscribed: "OPUS MAGISTRI IOCTI." The rather uneven form values of the picture can most easily be explained on the theory that it is a school piece, but in order to sustain this assumption it would be necessary to point out other works by the same pupil. The general resemblance to the earliest works of Taddeo Gaddi gradually fades as one looks at the picture more often and tries to take in the details. Gradually one realizes that the picture contains much of the master's own strong and intense feeling, although the forms are feebler than in Giotto's frescoes.

The central picture, where we see Christ and Mary, half turned toward each other, sitting on a broad marble throne with four angels kneeling at the steps, is undeniably the weakest part. Both figures are somewhat sack-like, but the type, especially Mary's, is thoroughly Giottesque. Passing to the wings, which are entirely filled with numerous saints standing in close ranks and with kneeling angel musicians, one discovers (Pl. 66) more of the master's style and feeling.

As a result of the extraordinary number of figures and their hieratic position against the abstract gold ground, the picture appears overcrowded. Only in the foreground, where the angels kneel, is the effect of space suggested: here three figures are at liberty to move behind each other. It is evident that the artist did not attempt anything but a sumptuous decorative effect, a tone of jubilation and exaltation, worthy of the heavenly event. The different saints are not further individualized. The faces are very much elongated, with long noses and high foreheads, and as the execution is rather cursory, the placidity of feature and type comes out all the more noticeably. The most beautiful creatures at this celestial feast are the kneeling angels, clad in light colors, who compose the orchestra. They are strong and youthful, they sing and sound their various instruments (violins, zithers, organs, bassoons, etc.) with enthralling rapture. In power and breadth of design they are superior to any other panel paintings we know from the school of Giotto.

The picture as a whole is broadly and somewhat roughly executed; several of the heads are incompletely drawn and modeled. Seen close to, the color passages appear unrelated, but at a proper distance (which of course should be maintained in judging a picture intended to be seen above the altar in a large chapel) the whole composition makes a splendid decorative impression, more like a fresco than a panel picture.

In close association with this large Coronation in Santa Croce we wish to mention the great altarpiece (Pl. 67) which Giotto is said to have painted for the high altar at St. Peter's in Rome. This polyptych, as is well known, was taken apart, and the pieces preserved in the sacristy of St. Peter's. It has no signature, but the documentary record of it is so complete that it is almost equivalent to an autograph.

In a so-called *Liber Benefactorum* in the archives of St. Peter's, where information about the benefactors of the church and their gifts is recorded, one finds under the year 1342, in reference to the death of Cardinal Jacopo Gaetano Stefaneschi, an entry concerning the cardinal's patronage of the church.¹ It is noted, among other things, that the cardinal ordered Giotto to paint a picture for the high altar, for which he should be paid eight hundred florins. The statement of this necrology is considered good documentary evidence. The identity of the altarpiece which the cardinal ordered with the dismembered polyptych in the sacristy of St. Peter's is proved by the fact that the cardinal himself appears on two of the panels, in one case as protector and donor. There is no record in the necrology of the date of execution of the work, and the statement about the price seems somewhat exaggerated.

The same altarpiece is again mentioned in an inventory prepared in 1603 by the archivist of St. Peter's, Grimaldi. The picture is here described with some care, and is said to have been completed by Giotto about the year 1320. Further corroboration for this piece of information is not given; as it is no more precisely defined than by *circa*, it was presumably arrived at through some combination of historical facts with which Grimaldi was familiar, and not through documents or a signature. So this date has no very great importance; still, it is probable enough if we interpret it loosely as meaning "in the twenties."

This altarpiece was composed of three high panels, painted on both sides, with crocketed gables and finials and, underneath, a double predella divided in the same way. Of the pictures only two predella pieces are wanting; the others hang in the *Sagrestia dei Canonici* at St. Peter's.

The place of honor in the middle of the front was occupied by Christ Enthroned. He sits on a marble Gothic throne of the same type that we have seen in the Madonna in Florence, except that the details are more graceful, and the back is not a

¹ Cf. chapter III, "Biographical Notes on Giotto."

vaulted niche, contributing to the space composition, as in the Madonna picture. The back has a flat and oppressive effect, which is in no degree softened by the many-colored brocade hanging that covers it. As the bordering side pieces are entirely open and are cut off at the top by the angles of the Gothic frame, only a very incomplete illusion of space is produced. The figure looks as though pressed against the flat throne. He sits full face in a hieratic attitude, his large right hand raised in the ritual benediction, and the other holding a book on his knee. His mantle is drawn over the left shoulder, under the right arm, and over the knees, in rather tight folds, with little of the clear, broad, plastic form that we expect in Giotto's own paintings. At Christ's feet kneels Cardinal Stefaneschi, a portrait with good individual characterization. The cardinal's hat is lying in front of him on the costly Persian carpet; he devoutly bows his head to kiss the toe of Christ. The intervals at the sides of the throne are filled with angels, the foremost kneeling, the rest standing two by two above each other, on four levels, with no attempt to create space effect. The figures are treated in a purely decorative manner, as on the wings of the Baroncelli polyptych, and the types in these two pictures seem to us to show remarkable correspondences. The elongated faces, with the long nose, the squinting eyes, and the small mouth, are easily recognizable. We have already pointed out the placidity of this type, which may be regarded rather as a product of the workshop than as the personal creation of the master.

On the reverse St. Peter occupies the central panel (Pl. 68). He is more massive and heavy than the Christ-figure, and his throne is more solidly constructed — a Gothic episcopal throne with a triangular pediment and low arms. The figure appears more real than the Christ in spite of the fact that it is entirely enveloped in a sheath-like mantle reaching up to the ears. St. Peter pays no attention to Cardinal Stefaneschi, who kneels at his feet wearing a bishop's mitre and an embroidered white tunic. The cardinal is presented by his patron saint, St. George, and offers to the apostle a miniature copy of the very altarpiece of which this picture forms a part. Here we get the best possible idea of the rich decorative effect of the *ciborium* in its original state. Opposite kneels a canonized bishop who looks up at St. Peter with an expression of inquiry, and at his side stands a colleague whose searching glance is likewise directed toward the saint. On either side stands an attendant angel.

As a whole, this picture undeniably has greater unity and better space composition than the other side of the panel. The figures are

powerful and their pose is clearly marked. The kneeling bishops arouse our interest by their portrait-like features. Yet here also one misses Giotto's strong plastic forms and definite articulation. The composition may be the master's, but the execution can hardly be his own. However, one must take into consideration the present state of the picture, which is dirty and clouded by smoke from the altar candles. The figures appear almost like shadows through the grime. Their decorative effect must have been much greater when St. Peter's gold-orange, the donor's white, and the saints' and angels' light blue, green, and red, stood out distinctly against the golden ground.

The two pictures which originally flanked the Christ Enthroned represent the crucifixion of St. Peter and the decollation of St. Paul. Their counterparts on the reverse each represent two standing apostles, St. Andrew and St. John, St. James and St. Paul.

The Crucifixion of St. Peter (Pl. 69) is a composition balanced with great formal skill, endowed with elements of strong dramatic expression. The central axis of the long, narrow panel is marked by the inverted cross to which the apostle is fixed. We cannot, of course, expect that the extraordinarily difficult problem of a man hanging by the feet should be adequately solved by a Trecento master; the well turned figure seems rather to float in the air than to hang by the feet. The people gathered below are divided into equal groups, closed by mounted men, so that the contours rise symmetrically toward both sides, culminating in two acute pyramids, free reproductions of Roman monuments already used by earlier masters to localize the scene. Above, where the space is broadest between the pyramids and the vertical axis, two soaring angels in trailing robes are introduced, their supple and attenuated bodies forming a connection between the cross and the monuments, and echoing the contour of the groups below. Their wings form a pointed arch, a prelude to the Gothic frame above. Immediately beneath the arch at the top we see the soul of the saint carried heavenward by other angels.

The figures at the bottom show a rich scale of emotional expression, but they lack the power and intensity of the mourners in Giotto's frescoes dealing with a similar topic. The gestures seem less original. The women who throw back their arms do so with no special energy, and those who weep are, after all, comparatively resigned. They maintain a certain elegance, and do not entirely surrender themselves to their emotions. One can hardly fail to observe that the types, especially those of the onlooking soldiers, show strong resem-

blance to the saints in the Baroncelli Coronation. The comparatively thin, fluent treatment of form is also the same as in the Coronation. The stylistic connection is such that the two pictures must be regarded as executed by the same hand in Giotto's workshop.

The other wing, the Decollation of St. Paul (Pl. 70), shows a freer and less symmetrical composition. The setting is a mountainous landscape, with a ledge in front for the actors, rising in a wall against the golden ground, and swooping like a great wave across the picture. Several large and striking trees sprout from the mountainside.

The saint's head has already fallen; his body, in a light mantle, lies huddled on the ground; and the executioner, in red, is sheathing his sword. Close behind the martyr stand two of his devoted disciples, a woman and a youth, tall, slender figures, bowed and shaken by grief. The frailness of the figures seems to accentuate the impression of sensitiveness and suffering. The only other witnesses are men-at-arms, to the right horsemen, to the left foot-soldiers, all with the elongated faces that we already know from the other panel. One of the guards seems to be aware of the marvel that is manifested in the upper part of the picture. Here we see St. Paul's mother standing on the edge of a cliff, with raised arms, receiving the mantle which her son drops as he is borne heavenward by angels. The little woman makes a wonderful impression, standing out in sharp silhouette against the background. Two large, floating angels break the wide, golden expanse and form a link between the mortals on earth and the blessed apostle soaring upward.

In the middle of the predella (Pl. 71) the Madonna is placed in an antique marble *exedra*, turned in full face, presenting the child, who is inclined forward. The child is not giving a benediction, but amuses himself by sucking his fingers. The powerful figure of the Madonna is closely wrapped in a blue mantle, yet it is tangibly modeled. The deep and broad niched throne gives to the form a better cubic effect than we have seen in any other figure of this altarpiece. The angels and apostles on both sides are much thinner and more fragile, showing the tendency towards elegance and linear form already pointed out in the larger pictures. Most of them carry the head on one side, and the thin faces easily assume an expression of sentimentality. They are rather attractive little figures, clad in mantles of soft, silken stuffs, with wide borders of gold embroidery. Each is framed in ornamental bands of arabesque design, possibly taken from Arabian glassware. The golden ground has a reddish patina, the colors have a subdued, transparent luster. The decorative effect is mild and noble.

Still more impressive, in a way, than these apostles are the smaller figures of saints that decorate the frames of the main panels. They are tall and elongated, with large heads, and as they stand enclosed in very narrow spaces their effect becomes quite monumental. Taken separately, as presented in Plate 72, some of these small figures are among the most interesting in the whole altarpiece.

As it originally stood in its rich Gothic frame with gables and finials of glittering gold, the whole altarpiece must have made a glorious effect. The three parts and the connecting pilasters between covered more than two and a half meters in width; the height was about the same as the width. At the apex of the long vista, down the flat-roofed nave of the old basilica of St. Peter, it is a gleaming crown to the altar.

The full development of the Gothic decoration in the frame (as displayed in the little model), and the tendency to lightness and grace in the drawing of the figures, which already has been pointed out, suffice for a comparatively late dating; that is to say, if we keep to the decade indicated in Grimaldi's note, rather after 1325 than before. The close, stylistic connection with the Baroncelli Coronation also justifies the assignment of the picture to a time when the master employed several skilful pupils in his workshop.

VIII

GIOTTO'S SCHOOL

WITH the group of pictures last described we have already touched upon the inclusive problem of Giotto's school.

"Giotto's school" is really one of the vaguest and most misused terms in the history of art: a name that one hears applied to a great variety of pictures, provided they have a certain archaic turn, gold backgrounds, and stately figures. "Scuola di Giotto," "Scuola di Botticelli," and "Scuola di Raffaello" are the three favorite labels which the ordinary Florentine uses to characterize the artistic material from which he has gathered his knowledge of the general evolution of art. According to his conception, Giotto's school comprises the whole Trecento and perhaps a little more: a view which after all is merely a popular interpretation of the general tendency of Vasari's presentation of Florentine painting in the fourteenth century.

We shall first mention under "Giotto's school" a number of anonymous pictures which must be grouped round the master but cannot be attributed to Giotto himself. Some of these are probably products of his workshop, and in a few cases the master may even have made sketches or drawings for the composition of the paintings, but did not share in their execution. Strictly, the panel pictures signed with his name belong to this class. We have found that their internal, artistic criteria do not correspond to the statement of the signature; they must have been done by pupils whose work the master officially sanctioned with his name. The extraordinary reputation that Giotto gradually attained probably brought with it more orders than he could carry out unaided; his pupils and assistants had to supply what the master himself could not accomplish. Such a procedure was quite natural at a time when men were still under the influence of the mediaeval idea of the coöperative production of works of art. The modern demand for individual originality was unknown.

There are several series of frescoes which stand in the same relation to Giotto as the signed panels. They do not bear his name, to be sure, but they have for centuries passed as his work and probably were regarded as such by his contemporaries. Modern aesthetic

criticism has begun to scrutinize them more strictly and has taken an attitude independent of the old tradition. The results show a marked tendency to become more and more negative. We have already seen this in the study of the St. Francis frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi; we shall have to recognize a similar outcome of the analysis of the well known frescoes in the Lower Church of Assisi: the Legend of Magdalen, the Allegories over the high altar, and the scenes from the lives of the Virgin and Christ in the right transept. All these paintings belong to Giotto's immediate following, but their correspondence in style to the master's frescoes in Padua and Florence is not so close as to justify their acknowledgment as his own work without further evidence.

1

THE MAGDALEN FRESCOES

THE personal influence of Giotto seems most probable in certain compositions in the Magdalen Chapel in the Lower Church at Assisi. We have no documentary enlightenment on the foundation or decoration of the chapel, but it is usually assumed that it was done by order of Bishop Teobaldo Pontano, who died in 1329. If the assumption is correct this date must be regarded as a *terminus ante quem*. But it is of hardly any real importance as there are no documents to prove its validity. Judging by their style, we consider it most probable that the frescoes were done in the twenties.

On both sides of the entrance to the chapel we see the kneeling founder, in one case at the feet of St. Rufinus, in the other at the feet of St. Mary Magdalen (Pl. 73). The latter representation is noteworthy because of the stateliness of the saint, a towering figure wrapped in a tightly draped mantle, presented almost full face. She reaches her hand down to the kneeling bishop, who is about half her size. It can hardly be denied that the gigantic form lacks plastic clearness; it is soft and sack-like. It is not unlikely that, as Rintelen has suggested, the figure was inspired by the Virgin in the Last Judgment in the Arena Chapel, who stands in exactly the same position. A comparison between these two strikingly demonstrates the difference between firm, sculptural form and a design apparently grandiose, but actually somewhat loose.

The first picture on the side wall, the Feast of the Pharisee (Pl. 74), is the most important artistically. The room where the table is set is suggested by a square-paneled back wall and a ceiling on consoles. One end is also indicated. In order to increase the depth dimension, the artist has drawn the room obliquely in relation to the wall surface. The table is shown in front view; on the further side are seated the Pharisee, two apostles, and another guest; at the end sits Christ. Three diminutive servants are waiting on the table, one of them standing before Christ, as in the Marriage at Cana in the Arena Chapel. Magdalen lies at Christ's feet, wiping them with her hair. Part of the picture is badly damaged, but it still makes a strong impression. The space composition holds an intermediate place between that of the frescoes we have studied in the Arena Chapel (the Marriage at Cana) and that of the later ones in the Cappella Peruzzi (*e. g.*, the Birth and Naming of St. John the

Baptist). The figures have place enough to sit and to move, the servants in front of the table do not threaten to fall out of the picture; there is plenty of room in front as well as behind. The composition is clearer and more spacious than in any of the pictures in the Arena Chapel. The individual figures are distinguished by great dignity; one particularly notices the three old men, St. Peter, the Pharisee, and another, looking reproachfully at Christ, who shows such gentleness to the adulteress. They are marked character types of the same sort that we find in some of the frescoes in the Arena Chapel, for instance, the Betrayal. The servants in front of the table are broad, block-like figures, of the same kind as in the above-mentioned wedding scene, but not so well proportioned. As a whole, both for its space composition and its figures, this fresco seems to us important enough to warrant the inference that the master may have had some share in its conception.

Less successful is the presentation of the raising of Lazarus (Pl. 75), especially if we compare it with the picture at Padua. The strict concentration and tension is here entirely lacking. The composition is more widespread; the two groups, Christ and his apostles and Lazarus and his supporters, are posed at a considerable distance from each other; and as the latter group is considerably larger and placed on a higher level, the figure of Christ is sunk down and no longer dominates the composition. His gesture is languid; he stretches his arm far out but does not make a strong and definite impression of compelling power as in Padua. There is nothing which integrates the whole. The central position of the two women kneeling before Christ attracts the main attention to them, but they do not in any way support or strengthen the essentials of the composition — rather the opposite. It is not only the group round Christ which seems listless; we miss also in the group round Lazarus that energy of pose and gesture which enlivens the corresponding figures in the Padua fresco. Very illuminating, in this regard, is a comparison of the boys who are trying to lift the big stone: in the earlier fresco they really are working hard; in the later, they do not even get a good grip on the slab. It is possible that the composition would have been stronger if more stress had been laid on the figure of Christ, because in its general plan the picture is monumentally conceived, but as executed it reveals little of the master's art.

Christ Appearing to the Magdalen after His Resurrection (Pl. 76), like the Raising of Lazarus, is set in a barren landscape where naked rocks serve to emphasize the figures. To the left is the empty tomb

with two guardian angels; to the right, Christ drawing back from the kneeling Magdalen. All the figures are marred by faulty drawing, especially in the unnaturally short arms. Christ is surprisingly marionette-like in his uncertain movement; Magdalen is over-eager. If one looks at the corresponding representation in the Arena Chapel, one finds an unusually pure and noble conception of the *Noli me tangere* motif; Christ's movement is firm and clear, Magdalen's expressive, but restrained. The figures form a better closed group than at Assisi, yet each one is more independent and powerful. The later picture looks like a feeble imitation of the earlier. The painter was evidently familiar with the Arena frescoes, but did not succeed in assimilating the essentials of characterization or of form.

The Magdalen's Journey to Marseilles, and the Dead Woman on the Island in the Sea (Pl. 77), is the subject of the next fresco. The picture has a special interest, as one of the earliest known attempts to depict the marine. To be sure, the boat resembles a gigantic nut-shell and the figures are drawn with sovereign indifference to perspective, but the composition reveals an original creative imagination, and in certain parts, as for instance the little men working in the harbor, a rather supple art of representation.

The following illustrations of the Magdalen in conversation with the angels, and the Magdalen receiving the garment from St. Zosimus (Pl. 78) show the same poetic imagination and fluent power of representation as the Journey, but no stronger form values. The figures of the young woman in the cavern, clad only in her luxuriant wavy hair, and the old hermit standing outside in his somber gown, are imbued with a fervent and sensitive lyric feeling which is further emphasized by the bleak, gray mountain wilderness. But this is not Giotto's sweeping, epic art.

The Magdalen's Last Communion and Translation (Pl. 78) shows stronger reminiscences of the master. The composition is divided into two groups: to the right, at the altar, Magdalen kneels before the old priest who gives her the benediction; to the left stand four deacons in prayer. Above, forming a connecting and enclosing vault over these vertical members, are angels bearing the departed saint toward heaven. The lunette is thus given a unified and harmonious decoration.

But there is only a superficial decorative coördination, no real space connection between the three groups. The figures are sensitive and expressive, though lacking something of the clear form and firm structure characteristic of Giotto. One is uncertain whether they

are supported by their legs or by the skirts of their mantles; the angels seem barely able to ascend with their heavy burden. It surely was not Giotto who painted such fumbling and uncertain movements, but how close these figures stand to the master's in regard to type plainly appears when we compare these angels with the angels round the throne of God on the triumphal arch of the Arena Chapel. The similarity of the types is so striking that one might be inclined to assume that they were painted from the same models or cartoons.

On the whole, it seems not altogether improbable that the master who executed the greater part of the frescoes in the Magdalen Chapel assisted Giotto in Padua, though in a subordinate capacity. He certainly had a thorough knowledge of the Arena frescoes and tried as much as possible to apply what he learned from them in his pictures at Assisi. To a large extent these appear to be echoes of the Arena frescoes. The compositional motifs are Giotto's, and, in part, the types as well, but the reinterpretation has effaced much of what was most characteristic and most powerful. Giotto's personal share in these pictures cannot be estimated as very great; it was probably limited to the imposition on the style of its characteristic stamp. The artist responsible for most of the execution in this chapel is to be met with elsewhere in the Lower Church at Assisi.

2

THE ST. NICHOLAS FRESCOES AND PANEL PICTURES BY THE
SAME MASTER

IN close connection with the frescoes in the Magdalen Chapel should be mentioned the frescoes which decorate the Cappella del Sacramento. Over the entrance the two brothers, Napoleone and Gian Gaetano Orsini, are represented as founders, kneeling one on each side of Christ, who stands in a Gothic niche: the older brother, in a bishop's mantle, presented by St. Francis; the younger, as a deacon, presented by St. Nicholas. The picture, therefore, was presumably painted before the younger brother had received his cardinal's hat, which is said to have been given to him in 1321.¹ Their style also gives reason to date them round 1320, or a little before.

The subjects of the frescoes in this chapel are taken from the legend of St. Nicholas. The compositions originally numbered twelve, but five of them are now almost obliterated. The following scenes are still clearly discernible. First, there is St. Nicholas saving three maidens from shame by giving them three bags of gold. We see the maidens and their poor father sleeping in a loggia, and St. Nicholas entering with his gift. Second, St. Nicholas rescuing three wrongfully accused youths from execution: the headsman is already swinging his great sword over the kneeling victims, but just in time the pious bishop rushes forward and snatches the hilt so that the executioner cannot deliver his stroke (Pl. 79). Two guards, also, are present. The movement of the figures is extremely energetic and expressive. The picture really awakes that impression of tension and surprise which is the dramatic gist of the story. The whole background is occupied by a large and complicated gate with a vaulted loggia over the central arch, and protruding wings with superstructures at the sides. By means of this architectural background a closed stage is created for the action, and the figures, moving with unusual freedom in different directions, are given greater appearance of reality.

The succeeding frescoes, which are almost entirely destroyed, probably represented St. Nicholas saving a ship in a violent storm, and replenishing the city of Myria with grain. The next is St.

¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle give this date, but Thode, in his book on St. Francis of Assisi, asserts that Gian Gaetano became a cardinal in 1316.

Nicholas pardoning the repentant Roman consul (Pl. 80), who wanted to hang three innocent youths. This scene takes place in front of a Gothic church façade, reasonably well and firmly constructed, richly decorated with cosmati-work, finials, and a Madonna over the door. The three young men stand with ropes round their necks; the guilty consul kneels before the saint, who holds him by a rope, but instead of having him hanged he gives him fatherly admonition. On either side of the saint stands a portly monk. Here again one observes a vivid and graphic presentation. The figures do not show any thorough psychological treatment, the types are rather uniform, the expressions somewhat meaningless, but the composition is drawn with a good eye for dramatic contrast.

St. Nicholas appearing in a dream to the Emperor Constantine (Pl. 81) urges the liberation of three imprisoned generals, Nepotianus, Ursus, and Apollionus. The emperor is sleeping, with his crown on his head, in a room that opens through large arches on a colonnaded loggia; on a lower story is a wooden cage in which the three generals are shut up like dogs. The old bishop comes flying in an arc almost as if he had taken off from a high spring-board. The graphic elucidation of the story has again been the artist's main care, and in his endeavor to attain this he has not hesitated to present the miracle in a literal form. He has been successful in showing the different open rooms, one behind the other.

The next picture is almost entirely destroyed. It represents St. Nicholas resuscitating a maiden in the presence of her parents.

Beyond we see the good bishop restoring the little Adeodatus to his parents (Pl. 82). The boy had been stolen by the king of the Agareneans. He acts as slave to the king, and is on the point of offering a cup of wine to his master when the saint arrives precipitately through the roof, seizes him by the head, and carries him off, substituting another slave in his place. In the picture below, the bishop returns the little Adeodatus to the family circle gathered round the dinner-table. The mother rises with open arms, the father grasps the boy with both hands to convince himself that he is not an apparition. An older brother lifts his hands in thanksgiving to heaven, and an elderly man raises his hand to his head as if to clear his brain from his sudden bewilderment. The servants stand rooted to the spot in terror at the sight of the bishop bringing in the lost child. The tension, the surprise, the sudden effect caused by the unexpected re-appearance, is interpreted with great sureness; the expressiveness of movement and pose is dramatically convincing.

Finally, there is represented the story of the Jew who belabored the statue of St. Nicholas, after invoking in vain the saint's aid against robbers. In the entrance arch are twelve saints.

It is evident that the painter of these frescoes must have been one of Giotto's earliest and most gifted pupils. He attaches himself directly to the master's concrete, dramatically cumulative mode of representation, though he by no means attains Giotto's calm and objective narration. He does not recast the miracles or other subjects into a clarified artistic form, and he does not give the monumental synthesis which we find, for instance, in Giotto's frescoes at Padua. The figures are animated by strong emotions which they express most vividly, but they lack the dignity and *pondus* of Giotto's personages. Just as the mode of narration is a somewhat simplified version of Giotto's concentrated epic manner, so also the formal expression, the modeling and draping, is purely Giottesque, but somewhat hasty and superficial. The figures are sculpturally cast, with strong opposition of light and shade, and the folds are distinguished by rather sharp creases. The cursory execution, however, sometimes makes them look angular and uneven. It is evident that this master worked quickly and unhesitatingly, like a typical fresco painter. At bottom, he understood more of the essentials of Giotto's style than any of the other pupils, but he had not sufficient creative power to bring out the monumental tectonic quality of the human figure as Giotto did. We can recognize in this master the incipient tendency toward the picturesque, toward story-telling, particularly in the treatment of accessories, architecture, costume, and drapery, though the tendency is less pronounced in him than in other contemporaries.

If this painter had lived a few centuries later he would probably have become an able illustrator and cartoonist. He has the knack of catching the essentials in a pose or in a situation without taking closer account of the secondary circumstances. His types are expressive, but lacking in finer psychological modulation. The heads are comparatively small, often rather angular, the features clean-cut, the profiles marked by a continuous straight line. The eyes are three-cornered and long, the whites glistening, the expression often startlingly intent. The mouths are small, the ears also comparatively small and well formed. The hands are summarily drawn, the arms short in proportion to the body. It should, however, be noted that the proportions of the figures are very variable; some have slender, elongated bodies (cf. the figures above the entrance arch), others

make an impression of condensed massiveness (cf. the story of Adeodatus).

Among the most valuable artistically of the pictures in the Cappella del Sacramento is the one above the Orsini tomb, on the wall beneath the windows, which unfortunately never has been photographed. It represents the Virgin between St. Nicholas and St. Francis, all in half-length, placed under rounded arches. The Christ-child stands on a railing before the Madonna, grasping the neck-band of her dress. The figures make a highly monumental impression, modeled as they are in broad planes with powerful opposition of light and shade. The faces are full; in St. Nicholas one notices especially the straight, flattened nose that we have observed in several of the narrative scenes. St. Francis' strong face has a poetic expression. The tone of subdued pathos which sustains the whole conception carries our thoughts to Giotto, though the master as a rule is more objective and less emotional.

In connection with this Madonna fresco should be considered a big altarpiece, showing the Virgin and four saints—St. John the Evangelist, St. Nicholas, St. Peter, and St. Anthony the Abbot—in half-length. It belongs to the collection of the Museo dell' Opera at Santa Croce, Florence (Pl. 83), and undoubtedly once decorated some one of the chapels in that church. The monumental character of the picture has tempted some students to consider it Giotto's own work. The attribution cannot be maintained, especially as the Virgin is entirely unlike the type of Giotto's Madonnas and resembles the Madonna in the Cappella del Sacramento. The child is a strong, rather stiff *bambino*, who, as in the previous instance, clings to the front of his mother's dress. The two nearer saints are presented in full front, the outer pair facing half inward; all have a mighty, statuesque character. They make a dark concentrated mass against the gold ground. Their faces are drawn as in the St. Nicholas Chapel with sharp contrast of light and shade, characterized by a certain angularity of form and a striking emphasis of the continuous line of the forehead and nose. The shape of the picture, with its heavy gables surmounting the rather severe Gothic trefoil arches, indicates an early date. It was probably painted somewhat before the St. Nicholas frescoes, possibly while the artist was still working in Giotto's atelier in Florence.

A smaller Madonna by the same hand has recently been presented to the collection of the University Museum at Oxford (Pl. 83). In the type of both Madonna and child it corresponds entirely with the

picture in Santa Croce; we notice the Madonna's characteristic straight nose and narrow eyes with a wave-like curve to the upper lid. The child is again a very lively *bambino*, who, in about the same way as before, caresses his mother and clutches the neck of her garment. The rendering of form has sculptural firmness and angularity. The effect of the picture, despite its small size, is monumental, like that of a big fresco. The same is true of a third Madonna which we have lately found in the Museum at Bergen, Norway.

We also recognize the master's peculiarities of style in a little picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (Pl. 84). It represents the Madonna seated on a low throne of such unusual depth that the figure is moved far into the picture. In front of the throne is spread an oriental rug ornamented with imperial eagles. The broad space in the foreground is only in part occupied by four stately saints; four others stand behind the throne. These four pairs of saints serve as corner pillars to the open room in which the Madonna is placed; the space effect is remarkably good. The types of the Madonna and the saints behind the throne recall those of the principal figures in the Adeodatus fresco in the Cappella del Sacramento. The short arms and rather flat and wooden hands also recall some of the figures in the St. Nicholas frescoes.

The same characteristic types recur in certain of the frescoes in the Magdalen Chapel. If we look, for instance, at the Resurrection of Lazarus, we find figures in the group round the corpse which forcibly remind us of the three youths that Nicholas rescues from hanging. The picture of the Magdalen's last communion and her ascent to heaven again displays figures, especially in the group of spectators, which we feel that we have met before in the St. Nicholas Chapel. They are comparatively short and thickset, with fairly good, plastic form, produced by strong opposition of light and shade. In other pictures of this chapel, such as the *Noli me tangere*, one traces the rather superficial plastic treatment, the same swift, fervid, narrative tone, and the rather exaggerated speed of movement. One should compare the mother, who rises from the table with arms outstretched, to the Magdalen who kneels at Christ's side, reaching out toward him. The type of Christ, likewise, with the straight, flattened nose and the short arms, makes one think of certain figures in the chapel of St. Nicholas. Finally, I wish to recall the fresco in the Magdalen Chapel which illustrates the sea voyage to Marseilles, with its ingenious and picturesque composition. Here the artist's brisk and original talent for narration

appears to the best advantage. For all the disparity between the landscape and the boat, and the strange proportions produced by the inversion of the perspective, the picture is none the less graphic, and parts of it, such as the harbor with the men working in it, are exceptionally natural and unconstrained. Lazarus, his sisters, and his friends, who sit in the big nutshell, are types which strongly remind us of the St. Nicholas frescoes, and the same holds true to a still higher degree of the guiding angels who float in the air in front of the ship. In short, we recognize such marked correspondence in style between some of the frescoes in the Magdalen Chapel and the St. Nicholas Chapel, that we feel inclined to conjecture that the same artist was active in both places. But the Magdalen frescoes are, as we have seen, less homogeneous in style than the St. Nicholas frescoes. They show a certain wavering both in composition and in the drawing of figures. Part of them may be called diluted imitations of Giotto's Paduan frescoes, whereas others are freer and less architectonic in structure. It is consequently somewhat difficult to determine the relative activity of the masters who executed them, but if we limit ourselves to the evidence of the figure style, it seems most probable that the master of the St. Nicholas Chapel had a significant share in the execution of the Magdalen frescoes. In testimony thereto we have not only the individual types and figures but also the vivid narrative tone and the rather condensed mode of representation.

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Unfortunately we do not know of any work signed by the master of the frescoes of the St. Nicholas Chapel, nor is there any documentary information to facilitate a closer designation of the painter. If we wish to identify him with any known name, we are forced to resort to hypothesis. This seems altogether too tempting to resist. Perhaps it might bring us closer to a solution, even if we do not reach one immediately. No one could doubt that the painter is one of Giotto's earliest and most important pupils. He probably worked with the master in Padua, and followed him to Florence and to Assisi.

The earliest author who tells anything about Giotto's pupils is Filippo Villani, who wrote his work *De Viris Illustribus* (a collection of biographies of his famous compatriots¹) in the latter half of the fourteenth century. He names Cimabue first among painters; he

¹ *Chroniche Storiche di Giovanni, Matteo e Filippo Villani*, Milano, 1848, vii, 47.

gives a list of Giotto's most important works and characterizes him in a few fitting words; then he goes on: "From this admirable man as from a pure and abundant fountain there issued clearest streams of painting, by whom, painting, rejuvenated and made to emulate nature, became precious and pleasing: among these Maso painted most delicately of all, with marvelous loveliness; Stefano, the ape of nature, was more skilful in the imitation thereof; Taddeo, lastly, painted with such art that he was estimated as a second Dinocrates."

The next author who gives any information about the Florentine Trecento painters is Lorenzo Ghiberti, who wrote his *Commentaries* about the middle of the fifteenth century. Of the pupils of Giotto he names only the three mentioned by Filippo Villani, but he speaks of more works by these masters, especially in Florence, works now for the most part destroyed. Only Taddeo's frescoes in Santa Croce and the paintings ascribed to Maso in the chapel of St. Sylvester in the same church are still preserved. Ghiberti knew three frescoes by Stefano in the cloister of Santo Spirito and a St. Thomas Aquinas in Santa Maria Novella, both in Florence. Of these paintings no trace remains. Neither does there seem to be anything left of the *Gloria* that Ghiberti says Stefano painted at Assisi. If Ghiberti's information were complete and trustworthy, we should be justified in identifying our anonymous master with Stefano, because his works do not fit the descriptions of those assigned to Taddeo or Maso; but the conclusion cannot be definitely drawn, because Ghiberti is by no means complete. We must make more careful inquiry into what is known of Stefano.

After Ghiberti, Cristoforo Landino is the next author who deals with Giotto's pupils, in the introduction to his commentary on Dante, in the year 1529. He does not add anything new, but is satisfied with recasting the statement of Filippo Villani. Of Stefano he says that he was commonly called "the ape of nature" because he so successfully depicted whatever he chose.

In the so-called *Libro di Antonio Billi*, the next source for the older art of Florence, written about 1500-07, the account of Stefano's frescoes in Santo Spirito reappears; we are further told that he painted an Assumption of the Virgin in the Campo Santo at Pisa, and that he was a relative of Giotto's.¹

We do not find anything in the *Codice Magliabechiano* beyond what has been cited already. Here Stefano is named first among

¹ Cf. *Il Libro di Antonio Billi*, ed. Carl Frey, Berlin, 1892, p. 10.

Giotto's pupils, and it is said of him that he lived in Giotto's time and was the father of Giotto.¹

Not until Vasari (1550) do we get any more detailed information about this artist, but unfortunately it is no longer possible to verify what Vasari tells us, because none of the works that he enumerates, either in Florence or in Rome, are now preserved. In describing Stefano's three frescoes in Santo Spirito, representing the Transfiguration, Christ walking on the water, and Christ healing the possessed, he particularly praises the artist's effort to show the bodies of his figures under their clothes and his skill in correctly rendering such architectural details as columns, gates, windows, cornices, etc. Among other things there was here represented a very complicated stairway which displayed such a rich inventiveness and was so practicable that it is said to have been used as a model when Lorenzo de Medici built the outer stairway at Poggio a Cajano. The third picture, representing Christ walking on the water, derived its unusual interest from the graphic depicting of the stormy sea, with fantastic monsters, and the terror-stricken apostles. These hints seem to answer to the observations we have had occasion to make in our study of the frescoes in Assisi, where, especially in the St. Nicholas Chapel, we noticed the good plastic modeling of the figures and the skilful rendering of architectural details such as the city gate, the façade of the church, etc. In the Magdalen Chapel there are remarkable seascapes.

The correspondences between Vasari's observations and ours of course, cannot be made the basis for any definite conclusions in regard to the artist, but they prove at least that the master of the St. Nicholas frescoes, in the present stage of knowledge, may well be identified with Stefano Fiorentino. Nor do we know of any other pupil of Giotto who with equal plausibility could be named as the painter of these frescoes.

More accurate historical information concerning the life of Stefano is lacking. He is however mentioned in 1347, with Taddeo, Orcagna, and Puccio Capanna, among the most prominent painters of Florence who were proposed for the execution of the altarpiece in San Giovanni Fuoricivitas at Pistoja, as "Maestro Stefano in casa de frati predicatori."² The artist consequently seems to have lived among

¹ Cf. *Il Codice Magliabechiano*, ed. Carl Frey, Berlin, 1892, p. 54.

² Cf. Chiapelli, "Di una tavola dipinta da Taddeo Gaddi, etc." *Bullettino storico Pistoiese*, 1900.

the Dominicans at Santa Maria Novella. Probably he died soon after the middle of the century.

Vasari concludes his *Vita di Stefano Fiorentino* with the following words: "It is said that he also was an architect; and what we have related above makes that assumption probable. He died, according to report, in the first year of the Jubilee, 1350, at the age of forty-nine, and was buried in his family vault in Santo Spirito."

THE ALLEGORIES

ON the low, groined vault which curves its sheltering wings down over the double altar above the tomb of St. Francis in the dark Assisi church are painted three allegorical compositions on the vows of the Franciscan Order, Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, and a representation of St. Francis in glory. These pictures, fitted into triangular concave surfaces, are intended to be seen obliquely from below. The numerous figures, nearly life-size, thus appear in almost recumbent positions, and the central portions of the compositions are at a considerably greater depth than the descending corners of the triangular fields. Photographs therefore cannot give an entirely correct reproduction of their decorative effect. Furthermore, the color scheme is here of greater importance than in most Trecento frescoes. The paintings still keep their original light, harmonious tone; no restorer has put out of tune the glad, rejoicing chord of blue and gold, pink and pale green and white, which for nearly six hundred years has glowed above the seraphic brother's grave; only time and the smoke of incense have gently subdued the colors. The difficulty is to see the frescoes properly on account of their situation, for under ordinary circumstances daylight is extremely scant. Only in the brightest season of the year, during the hours when the sun shines in through the little windows in the transept and the choir, can one get an idea of the beauty of the colors in these paintings. The color effect distinctly separates them from the frescoes of Giotto. Even if one does not wish to admit a direct influence from Siena — particularly Simone Martini — one must admit that this new coloristic tendency leads in the direction which becomes prevalent after the pure Giottesque style has been affected by the Siennese current that follows in the wake of the pictorial Gothic style.

From the point of view of composition the Allegory of Poverty (Pl. 85) can be designated as the best. Here we find applied the basic plan of figure arrangement which later became a favorite in the High Renaissance: a half-oval with recurved ends. Probably the concave triangular surface contributed to the development of this design, but that does not detract from the artist's individual merit. He places the figures on a cliff which rises stepwise in the middle and thus serves to bring out the protagonists, in spite of their position furthest in the background. The group, however, is not kept absolutely in

the middle, but is moved a little to one side, because both St. Francis, the bridegroom, and Christ, who performs the ceremony, are placed to the left of the main axis, which is accentuated by the central figure, Poverty. This ragged old woman, surrounded by briars, thus dominates the composition, but at the same time the balance is somewhat disturbed: the left half is weighted more heavily than the right. The figure groups are otherwise about equal, both consist of angel choirs forming a semicircle on a somewhat lower level. Nearest the bride we see the gentle personifications of Hope and Charity, the former with one hand raised, almost touching the hand of Poverty, and thereby making a formal link between the central figures and the side group. The other angels stand in similar positions, some with the hand under the chin, spell-bound by the marvelous spectacle that takes place before their eyes. Further out in the corners are inserted realistic contrast motifs: to the left a young man who, imbued with the doctrine of evangelic poverty, gives his cloak to an old beggar; on the right an angel who tries in vain to induce worldly-minded persons to follow the example of St. Francis. Swayed by varying degrees of avarice, distrust, and scorn, these men endeavor to escape; one of them contemptuously "makes the fig" at the saint. The top part of the picture is occupied by two large floating angels bearing a garment and a church — symbolizing the oblations of the self-sacrificing — up to heaven, where a little God the Father shoots towards them.

The representation, then, has a carefully elaborated allegorical character. The literary scheme everywhere transpires; it is obvious that the composition is effective primarily as an illustration of the Franciscan vow. It is hard to tell to what extent the artist was left free by those who gave him his commission; in any case he did not recast the subject so as to give it genuine artistic value, but treated it as an imposed program, symbolizing the different items in various figures and groups. The essential, from the artistic point of view, is the decorative design, the harmonious covering of surface, and the clear rhythmic disposition of mass. These decorative principles are carried out in a manner of which a master of Giotto's rank need not have been ashamed. Before we attempt to designate the master more exactly, we must cast a glance at the other Allegories.

In the Allegory of Chastity (Pl. 86) the theological content is, if possible, even more independent and less comprehensible than in the previous case, but the composition fills the space harmoniously.

Against the darkened, golden ground stands forth the high, white marble tower of the castle of Chastity, richly ornamented with cosmati-work. Chastity herself, a woman dressed in light colors, reads her matins in the tower window, while two blue-clad angels with large wings descend upon her, bringing heavenly messages of peace in the form of a book and a palm branch. Down on the ground, before the dark, crenellated wall, old white-bearded warriors in verdigris-green and golden-brown jerkins, with winged helmets, big shields, and scourges, are standing guard. None but the chaste may approach this legendary castle of peace and purity. We see three humble friars welcomed by St. Francis, accompanied by two golden-haired angels, while on the other side some of their companions drive off the powers of evil and destruction, foremost among whom is False Love, a blind *amor* with harpy feet and a wreath of roses on his hair. The initiation ceremony of a Knight of Chastity is represented in the middle foreground: two angels are bathing the slender youth with evident care, and pouring clean water over his body. Two more heavenly servants bring him new clothing, as a symbol of his spiritual rebirth, while Courage and Fortitude hand him the insignia of his new calling: the white banner, the shield, and the sword. The whole scene is redolent of mediaeval monkish allegory. The dry bones of speculation are substituted for artistic life. It is only as decorative form, independent of its allegorical import, that we can enjoy the production.

The third Allegory—Obedience (Pl. 87)—is the weakest as a composition; the artist has here barely contrived to master or gloze over the formal difficulties. The composition is built round a loggia with spindly columns, which narrows toward the top to fit the curving surface. This gives to the architectural structure an appearance of unreality: one cannot help feeling a disquieting doubt as to its ability to bear the weight placed on the roof—St. Francis, with the yoke of obedience on his neck, accompanied by two big kneeling angels. The scene inside the loggia (Pl. 88), however, is both beautiful and expressive. Holy Obedience, a monk with small wings, holds the place of honor. He sits with his finger to his lips and places the yoke on the shoulders of a kneeling brother. On either side of him sit Holy Prudence, with a double face, whose mirror dazzles the vices, and Holy Humility, a mild and tender young woman with her eyes humbly downcast, holding her light burning before the two kneeling men who have approached from the opposite side under the guidance of an angel. The outer corners are filled with a choir of kneeling

angels, accommodated on projections of the sumptuously decorated marble terrace which supports the loggia. Thus the event is placed in an abstract sphere, where only the two kneeling men remind us of earthly reality. The compact bevvies of sturdy angels look rather massive out in the wings, but if we consider them individually we notice the dreaming expression which beautifies their faces.

In the fourth composition — *St. Francis in Glory* (Pl. 89) — the space has been filled in a more successful and unified manner, although the individual figures are more unequal. The whole is fused into a single great choir, a multitude of angel voices and heavenly instruments joining in an ecstatic hymn of jubilation in honor of St. Francis. The staring, expressionless doll in the middle is not intended to be a portrait of the saint, but of the symbolic figure borne in procession by the friars on the days of great festivals. He sits on a throne hung with purple under a gold-embroidered canopy, and from his visage issue golden rays. It is certainly no likeness of the little Poor Brother of Assisi, the humblest of all living creatures; the figure is more like a disguised, oriental idol. But the angels round about him in pink and pale blue garments falling to the feet, who blow trumpets and sing and rejoice, move in a rhythmic dance with such rapture that we almost fancy ourselves witnesses of the joy of the heavenly hosts over the glorified saint. The rising rhythm in the drawing of this great angel choir has in it something moving and magnificent. The types of some of the angels diverge from those in the Allegories; it seems evident that another artist assisted in the execution of this picture.

It has already been suggested that these compositions give us little of the saint's nature and spirit. We understand what they represent with the aid of the literary tradition, but their artistic bearing on the life and teaching of St. Francis remains rather obscure (with the possible exception of the Allegory of Poverty). We find here no trace of any conception intended to extract an inner significance from the dry theological program, or to endow the scheme with life. What we miss here, in short, is the ardor, the sincerity, the whole spiritual rapture that lifts St. Francis so high above the level of mediaeval monasticism. The artist derives no interest from the story; what personal contribution he makes is independent of the subject.

We have pointed out that the artistic element is to be sought chiefly in the decorative form. The compositions are designed with decided feeling for the rhythmic filling of space. They are adapted

harmoniously to the architecture, embellishing and deepening the compartments of the big, groined vault; the depth dimension is remarkably well brought out; the figures are not pressed flat against each other. In spite of all this the compositions have a certain frailness, a lack of architectonic power and unity, which certainly does not indicate Giotto as the author. If he really did have anything to do with them, he allowed himself to be fettered to an unusual extent by the theologico-literary subjects. His biblical and legendary scenes, which we have studied in Padua and in Florence, all bear witness to unusual capacity for recasting material artistically and bringing out new expressional values. Would the artist actually have stepped back into second place in favor of the writers of theological programs? It seems unlikely.

The individual faces are distinguished by a delicate beauty which in certain cases — as for instance in the Allegory of Chastity — becomes sentimentally flaccid. The light tone of the colors, combined with the flowing harmony of line and the soft rounding of form, endows the better parts of these frescoes with a lyric feeling which does not correspond to the fundamental epic note of the creations of Giotto. The large majority of the figures are, as we have noticed, merely supernumeraries — kneeling angels who have no other function than to act as spectators and occupy large spaces in the composition. These angels show a uniform, elongated type which, seen in profile, makes an impression of refinement, but in full face has a stamp of mask-like flatness. The long nose with a broad root and the obliquely set eyes then appear in a disquieting manner. Very characteristic, also, is the shape of the head, which tends to become narrow toward the top. The back of the head is frequently flattened, and the cheeks are broad. It is not the type of Giotto's angels, as we have seen them, for instance, on the triumphal arch of the Arena Chapel; there the forms are broader and more powerful, and we find evidence of a much stronger, artistic will.

A distinction of the same kind may also be traced in the modeling and draping. In Padua we had constant occasion to point out the sculptural treatment of the folds, which so well served to exhibit the tectonic organism of the figures, their mighty tridimensional structure, and the typical form qualities of the body. In Assisi, on the other hand, the form is wrapped in a soft envelope, a flexible mantle drawn in thin, tight folds, around the body, which often becomes a mere jointless bundle. The draping never brings out the structure of the figure, but conceals it. It has no definite starting-points or

plastic planes defined by light and shade, but instead undulates pleasantly, in a more purely pictorial way. Even if we have reason to believe that Giotto's expressional style gradually developed in the direction of pictorial fluency, it is not probable that he himself ever lost so completely the fundamental sculptural quality which was originally his. We here already meet a later stage in the evolution, a stage indicated by Giotto's closest pupils and successors who, so to speak, had a new period in their blood and had perhaps come into contact with more advanced representatives of pictorial Gothic.

It is hardly necessary to point out that in spite of all the differences we have noted, there is, particularly in the better figures, such as the angels round St. Francis in *Glory*, a great similarity to Giotto's creations — the Allegories, as we know, have been looked on for centuries as Giotto's work — and the contention may with some reason be maintained that the compositions are in the manner of Giotto. To us, however, it is of decisive importance for the attribution that the artistic quality does not attain Giotto's level and that the decorative character of the paintings bears witness to a later stage in the evolution of Trecento art.

THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN

THIS same phase of development is further exemplified by the pictures in the right transept of the Lower Church at Assisi, which both from their position and their style may be considered as a direct continuation of the Allegories. They have been generally treated in connection with the larger Allegories, though with emphasis on their more flexible and expressive naturalistic style. The lyric feeling is here still more noticeable. It looks as though the artist had worked first on the Allegories and then on the scenes from the lives of the Virgin and Christ, and only in these last had given full expression to his temperament. A few examples will best demonstrate the character of these pictures.

The series opens with the Annunciation, represented on both sides of the entrance to the Cappella del Sacramento, which forms the end of this transept. The first complete fresco shows the Visitation (Pl. 90). The composition is clearly divided by horizontal and vertical lines, the former marked by the mountain ledge against the blue sky, the latter by the upright figures and the architecture. One immediately perceives the effect of spaciousness. There is plenty of room between the figures, lofty sky above their heads, and also place for a building of considerable size. The aërial perspective is carried out in an illusory manner and gives a suggestion of atmosphere.

The figures are elongated, their movement a little stiff, but expressive. The aged Elizabeth shows great tenderness as she bends forward, grasping Mary's arm with both hands; the same warm sympathy seems to move the young woman who stands in the door of Elizabeth's house, gently smiling, with her head bent to one side. Mary is accompanied by two, noble-looking, elderly women, whose narrow, tapering heads remind us of the angels in the Allegories, and by two younger women, talking cheerfully to each other, who carry a basket and a bundle on their unnaturally short, weak arms. The peculiarities of style have already been described: the attenuated proportions of the figures; the thin, tapering faces; the short, useless-looking arms — all widely divergent from Giotto's own work. The idyllic tone of the composition evinces a distinctly individual conception, supported by the mild and light color scheme. The bright blue of the background dominates; the building is pinkish-white, Elizabeth's costume orange-yellow, Mary's azure; the servants are

dressed in brownish-red, black, white and blue, and the woman in the doorway wears a tunic of cinnabar red.

In the next composition — the Nativity (Pl. 91) — one is again struck by the unusually wide space effect. The picture seems to us almost to fall apart as the result of the great distance between the figures and their slight spiritual relation. The elements are the traditional ones: in the middle a shed, beneath which Mary sits with the child in her hands, looking at him with great affection. In front of the rock in the foreground sits Joseph, half asleep, bending forward with his chin in his hand; immediately below Mary takes place the bath scene, which Giotto in Padua completely abandoned as an antiquated superfluity. (A rather unusual effect is produced by the drawing of both serving-women on about half the scale of the Virgin, although they are placed in the immediate foreground.) The goats and the sheep come prying and sniffing forward toward the women. The two shepherds in gray capes again show the characteristic type, with heads narrowed toward the top. The singing and rejoicing angels are divided into four separate groups, completely decentralizing the impression.

The Adoration of the Magi (Pl. 92) is likewise a rather sparse and extended composition, but the spiritual relation between the figures is stronger, and a tone of sincerity pervades the whole representation. The two groups are some distance apart. The Virgin, in a blue mantle, sits on the right in the porch of a little marble Gothic building, and holds the child on her knee with both hands, keeping him from slipping off as he leans recklessly forward, child-like, to lay his hand on the head of the old gray-haired king. With touching tenderness the king takes the child's two feet in his hands and kisses them. On either side of Mary stands an observantly attentive angel, one of them holding the young king's gifts. Joseph is — *mirabile dictu* — omitted, a liberty which the artist probably permitted himself in order to balance his composition and make more room. The group on the left is commanded by the two young kings, who despite their distance are intimately connected with the main action. The elder is about to take off his sky-blue mantle (he has already given his sword to a retainer), but when he sees what is happening in the porch on the right, how the venerable old man kisses the feet of the newborn babe, he seems to be transported to a distant world of dreams — his hands pause on the clasps of his garment. His ugly Mongolian-looking squire regards him with curiosity and surprise, and the young king at his side tries gently to rouse him to

consciousness. The restless camels and the serving men, who are kept busy trying to restrain them, make an effective completion of the composition, in contrast to its delicate sentimentality.

The Presentation in the Temple (Pl. 93), which follows, set against the background of a richly ornamented, Gothic church interior, is perhaps the most decorative picture in the whole series. The pale marble walls, relieved by borders of variegated cosmati-work, the high, spacious vaults, the big, pointed window, through which the blue sky gleams, all combine to make an impression of width and depth which is of great importance to the solemn religious mood of the scene.

The figures are arranged in an ellipse, with a wide opening in front. The enclosing contour at the top is carried upward by the figures, continuously rising from both sides toward the high shrine in the middle of the background, while in the foreground it is carried downward and inward by the kneeling man to the right and the boy to the left. As in the previous picture, the figures are divided into two groups; the empty space — the pause — between them brings out the connection between the mother and the child, who are visibly yearning toward each other. All the figures are tall, dressed in simply draped mantles. One notices, especially, the sibyl-like prophetess, her leathery, furrowed face framed in a green kerchief, and the two young people behind Mary and Joseph, one of them standing with the head sentimentally inclined.

The Flight into Egypt (Pl. 94) derives its decorative effect primarily from the monumental design of the main figure, the queenly-beautiful Mary sitting, with the child in her arms, on the ass which strides steadily forward. The composition is a direct translation of Giotto's representation of the same subject in Padua. If we compare these versions it is evident how much weaker, how much more doll-like, the figure of Joseph has become, and how the landscape has lost much of its unifying decorative effect, now that it is no longer dominated by a large, pyramidal rock, as in the Arena Chapel, but disintegrated into undulating hillocks. The monumental unity and forceful advancing rhythm of line which characterize the representation in Padua are here missing. The composition seems picked to pieces and diluted.

The Massacre of the Innocents (Pl. 95) is a development of Giotto's earlier composition, bearing witness to the more mobile temperament and less massive figure style of the younger artist, but also of diminished seriousness and taste. The advance over Giotto's composition seems to lie chiefly in the easier mastery of involved movements and

of turbulent figures, but we find here no such dramatic expression as in Giovanni Pisano's solution of the same problem. It is as if the wealth of detail and the elaborate illustration of the massacre had to a certain extent weakened the tragic effect. Giotto's severe concentration was more imposing.

The framing, architectural elements in the background, Herod's balcony and the Gothic towers on the opposite side, are as usual slight both in design and decoration. Between them stands a group of men with lances. The slaughter goes on in the foreground. The two executioners, who grasp their victims by a leg or an arm, lunging with their swords, are variations of Giotto's figures. The third, who bends forward to cut off the head of a dead boy, is a rather distastefully naturalistic addition of the artist's own invention. The sorrow and despair of the mothers is increased to the uttermost, bordering on hysterical frenzy. One spasmodically presses her dead child to her breast and kisses him; another pathetically raises both hands, gazing distractedly at the boy who lies limp on her knees; a third tears the front of her dress, loudly wailing — the executioner has just wrested her son from her and points the sword at his heart. More appealing than these overwrought demonstrations of grief are the individual modulations of indifference, hesitation, and sympathy, which appear in the faces of the attendant soldiers, most evidently in the two leading horsemen on the right.

Christ among the Doctors (Pl. 96), thanks to its high Gothic architecture, is an unusually decorative composition, in which the figures play a very secondary part. They are seated on benches along the walls, and are smaller and slimmer in relation to the architecture than in any other work of the period. The faces of some of the Pharisees are narrow and pointed, like birds' heads.

Christ Returning with his Parents from Jerusalem is a picture of which more than half is occupied by a view of the city. Outside the gate, furthermore, stands a high, fantastic palace with attenuated columns, and a windlass in the top story. Everything is so minutely and meticulously depicted that the painting has primarily the character of an architectural rendering or a purely ornamental composition. The holy family and the three old women of their retinue are squeezed into the space to the right between the city gate and the margin of the picture; the thin, elongated proportions of the figures thereby become the more pronounced.

The last picture in this series — the Crucifixion (Pl. 97) — makes its chief appeal by means of three realistic portraits of kneeling Fran-

ciscan friars. The central action is relatively weak in presentation; the artist apparently has not been capable of working out an individual conception of his lofty theme. It has transcended his mild lyric temperament. He has tried to subsist on reminiscences from Giotto's Arena frescoes, and has thus risked the unity and clearness of his composition. The figure of Christ on the cross seems somewhat heavy, because it is drawn on a larger scale than the rest; the foot of the cross is entirely concealed by the Magdalen, who kneels, kissing the feet of Christ. To the left, as usual, are the relatives of Christ, St. John and the holy women; to the right, the Roman soldiers and the Jews, and in front of them the kneeling friars. The figures on both sides are arranged in two rows, those in front sitting on the ground or kneeling, so that they reach no higher than the waist of the figures standing behind — an arrangement which weakens, rather than strengthens, the impression of space. The figures on the right, the retreating Jews and the two soldiers, appear almost flat, as if pressed against the background. The third dimension is here much less adequately suggested than in the corresponding group in Giotto's Crucifixion in the Arena Chapel, and, above all, the figures lack the plastic volume there attained. Those standing to the left — St. John, who raises his hand to his chin, and the women, who fling wide their arms — are familiar to us from Giotto's mourning scenes in Padua; the artist has merely exchanged the attitudes of St. John and the women with arms spread, and, incidentally, has greatly weakened their expressiveness by putting them in a line, one behind the other, instead of in a curve, all drawn toward a gathering focus. The prominent figure in the foreground, with his back turned, is also inspired from the Pietà in the Arena Chapel, though he has lost some of his resistant massiveness.

As a whole, this Crucifixion composition scarcely belongs among the more original frescoes of the series. It is too unfeeling a patchwork to arouse any deep interest, either by its spiritual or its decorative qualities.

Forming a continuation of the decorative arrangement in the right transept are three scenes representing miracles performed by St. Francis and one of his followers. The first shows a boy of the Spini family falling from a window and rising unhurt because of the prayer of two Franciscan friars (Pl. 98). All the numerous spectators, mostly women, fall on their knees in prayer. The composition thus consists of a cluster of kneeling people gathered in a ring round the little boy and his rescuers. The tower-like structure from which he

plunges is shown on the left, balanced on the other side by a richly articulated church façade, with priests streaming out of its portal. Both buildings are placed obliquely to the surface plane in order to heighten the illusion of space. The figures form a rather compact mass, from which no conspicuous plastic volumes stand out. The whole composition has the feature of genre and naturalistic suppleness which we have several times pointed out in the Biblical frescoes. The figures also show the same thin forms and narrow faces that we have there seen. The painter does not seem to have had any real feeling for Giotto's dominating aim of developing the plastic quality of the human figure, or for his characterization of type. His inclination is rather that of the descriptive novelist. He seeks entertaining detail, portraiture, modulation, rather than the typical. Hence he may be said to start the evolution toward the genre-like naturalism which culminates in the fanciful interpretation of reality of the Quattrocento painters.

The second miracle represented is the story of the youth from Suessa crushed under a falling building (Pl. 98). The legend tells how people rushed together from all sides, the youth was dragged out from the collapsed building, and taken to his mother. In despair she called upon St. Francis for aid—and behold, at midnight, the youth, who had been carried to a near-by building, was heard to burst into a song of praise and thanksgiving. The priest of the neighborhood and his relatives gathered and united in thanks to God. The artist's main effort evidently has been to give as truthful a translation as possible in painting of the central episode of the tale. He has hardly succeeded in demonstrating the miracle itself—his presentation is too literal—but he has produced two genre pictures of considerable expressiveness. In the first we see the people collected round the fallen house; two men are holding the body. The women who have come up are lamenting and tearing their hair; the mother kisses the dead child. The expression of emotion is, again, hysterically overwrought, the slim figures are on the point of bursting. The massing of the people is haphazard; the only ones who seem to have a definite place in the picture are the two men who carry the dead boy, one standing with his back turned, the other in full front, thus suggesting a definite depth dimension. To the left of these are three figures, evidently portraits. Traditionally, the foremost, with his hand to his chin, is supposed to represent Giotto, a statement that cannot be verified by any authentic likeness. Thode has expressed his opinion that not the man in front but the third—the one with the large

nose — is Giotto, because the profile has a certain likeness to the portrait of Giotto that Benozzo Gozzoli painted at Montefalco more than a hundred years later, but this is of course no real proof. The other figures show variations of the narrow type we already know from the previous frescoes. Their bodies are excessively attenuated. As the composition entirely lacks architectural elements, which in the preceding pictures are of such extreme importance to the decorative effect, it appears somewhat empty and bare. The figures are more dominating than usual. The painting may at first sight seem foreign to the master of the Allegories, but on closer examination the correspondences in type and proportion become evident enough to enable us to maintain the identity of the artist.

The second picture, illustrating the resuscitation (Pl. 99), is well provided with architecture: a large palace loggia occupies the background. In it we see St. Francis appearing to the youth and raising him on his bed. Several persons hasten down the staircase to announce to the waiting priests and friends the glad news of the youth's revival. The building is, as usual, placed diagonally, that is to say, with one corner pointing outward, and thus sufficient room is provided for the masses of figures in front of the oblique walls. The problem of space is solved more skilfully and naturally than in any of the frescoes of Giotto. A comparison with Giotto's representation of St. Francis renouncing his earthly father in the Cappella Bardi most readily suggests itself, because the composition is here arranged on the same fundamental lines. The placing of the figures is stiffer and more severe in Giotto's work; every figure has, to be sure, more independent existence and more powerful form than in the composition of the younger painter, but the massing is not so naturally effected. This gathering of astonished burghers and solemn priests, who have assembled round the empty bier, is shown with a facility entirely unlike Giotto's architectonic manner of composition. The narrative art has evidently worked itself closer and closer to reality, but step by step with the gain in naturalistic achievement goes a corresponding loss in creative imagination and in aptitude for structural design.

One might feel even more doubtful as to the identity of the painter of this picture. So many of the figures appear to be portraits that we find the characteristic types in very few of them, yet they do occur, rather well marked, at the extreme left of the picture: the young men who stand there with heads inclined remind us strongly of the spectators in the Presentation of Christ in the Temple. The

smaller figures who descend the stairs also seem typical of the master of the Allegories. His hand, then, seems to be traceable in this picture, but it is not impossible that he worked out the suggestions of some other artist. Even if that was the case, it must be admitted that the artist's flexible and uneven talent here achieves surprising success.

This picture is in many respects a long way from the Allegories, but, nevertheless, we may note even here a palpable inclination toward genre-like naturalism and inability to recast an abstract subject in an organic artistic form. It is characteristic of the painter, in distinction from Giotto, that he never tries to give a symbolic expression to the spirit and meaning of a miracle or an allegory, but stays on the surface, illustrating his story, word for word. This, however, he does skilfully, with an eye for realistic detail and decorative use of architecture and ornament.

After having studied these legendary frescoes, it might be well to return once more to the Allegories and particularly to their framing borders; they show very rich ornamental motifs. The vault ribs are covered with geometrically divided stretches of cosmati-work, alternating with figures of prophets and angels or small allegorical representations in round, hexagonal, or quadrangular fields. At the side of the ribs run broad bands filled mainly with a conventionalized acanthus pattern, interspersed with lozenge-shaped fields bearing busts of angels or other figures (Pl. 100). In these secondary ornamental figures we find the painter's weak, affected types most evidently displayed.

Did the master really paint these decorative accessories? It is not impossible. The types have the same fundamental character as in the Allegories (see, especially, Chastity); the gradations which are discernible in the quality of form may be the result of greater carelessness in the execution of subordinate parts. Even if assistants were employed (which is most likely) we are none the less justified in holding to one leading master for this entire decoration. His types, his feeble form values, and rather loose design, everywhere recur.

THE SANTA CHIARA FRESCOES AND SOME PANEL PICTURES

FROM the decorative border round the Allegories, the step is not long to the frescoes on the vaults of the crossing in the church of Santa Chiara at Assisi (Pl. 101). The four concave surfaces are here treated in a manner clearly inspired from the larger pictures in San Francesco, although these compositions are simpler and more meager. They are all on one pattern: from the middle of a platform-like terrace rise two slender, Gothic tabernacles, with trefoil arches and richly ornamented gables. Under each tabernacle stands a female saint; the space at the sides is filled with kneeling angels in very much the same way as in the Allegory of Obedience. In the upper corner of the triangle is placed a flying angel. The decoration of the borders and vault ribs coincides closely with the corresponding parts in San Francesco, although even here the simplification is noticeable. A peculiar feature is that the supporting terraces are drawn convex: the composition bows out in the middle instead of presenting a recessed center and protruding wings, as in San Francesco. The artist has evidently attempted to give an increased depth to the middle, especially by means of the slanting position of the tabernacles, but the attempt can hardly be called successful. The big structures threaten to fall out of the picture, instead of deepening it, and their effect is especially unfortunate when they are seen foreshortened from various angles, in such a way as to disfigure the proportions of the architecture. The artist appears to have attempted, by the use of a convex plan and the exaggeration of certain dimensions in his figures, to counteract the foreshortening in which the composition as a whole and its component parts must inevitably appear. It is necessarily seen from below, and, as the vault is unusually high, from a considerable distance. The effect of the frescoes varies according to the point from which one looks at them. They are at their weakest when presented vertically, as in a photograph. The extravagantly long necks and bird-like heads with big eyes and very long noses then become surprisingly prominent. The types of the standing saints seem to correspond closely with those we have noticed in the borders of the Allegories and to a certain extent with some of the types in the Allegories themselves. Observe, particularly, the elliptical form of the face, the long, pendulous nose, the narrow eyes, the large ears, and the stretched necks, which, alto-

gether, give them what might be called a primitive El Greco type. The similarities between these paintings and those in San Francesco are so remarkable that one can hardly help believing that the same master was, to some extent, active in both places, though at different periods and under different circumstances, in one case less independently than in the other. In San Francesco he painted, so to speak, in the shadow of Giotto's greatness — in the representations from the life of Christ he tried as much as possible to use the master's Paduan models — and it is also likely that he there had direct support, by suggestion and advice, from the master himself. In parts of the Allegories, as in certain of the scenes from the life of the Virgin and the life of Christ, one still feels the pulse of Giotto's art, but it gradually weakens. In the Santa Chiara frescoes this animating influence is no longer present. Giotto's principles have been discarded for a frail Gothic surface decoration; the firm ground under the painter's feet seems to be crumbling. The interval of time must also have been considerable.

There are, besides, on the right wall of the choir of Santa Chiara, fragments of frescoes which probably depicted miracles. These look as if they had been executed by the same hand as the frescoes in the vaulting. They might perhaps form a link with the pictures in San Francesco, if they were freed from their plaster covering. Further, we find in the adjoining chapel of San Giorgio a tripartite altarpiece representing the Crucifixion with two Poor Clares on one side and a bishop and St. Agnes on the other, evidently originating from the same workshop as the vault paintings (Pl. 102). The standing saints show the characteristic attenuated type, long nose, large ears, and the same flowing treatment of the folds of the thin, limp draperies. A certain refinement undeniably marks these slender figures under their richly ornamented, Gothic trefoil arches. There is a touch of the same weak sentimentality that we have often observed in the scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin in San Francesco, now bordering on flimsiness.

The explanation may be the gradual weakening and retrogression of the painter as he moved out of the sphere of Giotto's personal influence; or, even more probably, the master who executed the main part of the frescoes in Santa Chiara may have held a less prominent place in the production of the Allegories, working in company with others under the leadership of a stronger hand. To a certain extent, the two explanations can perhaps be combined. One may prudently state, at least, that these fresco cycles in San

Francesco and Santa Chiara were produced by the same firm of artists (consisting of several members, under centralized control) which means, in the language of the time, *la medesima bottega*.

A group of several panel pictures scattered through various public and private collections may be mentioned in connection with the Assisi frescoes. These small paintings are of a more refined and intimate character than the large decorative compositions; they show, nevertheless, important stylistic correspondences with the frescoes.

The most complete and best preserved are two small triptychs in the collections of Mr. F. M. Perkins at Lastra a Signa and the late Herbert P. Horne in Florence. Both these pictures have served as domestic or portable altars and show the same general pattern with a triangular top on the central panel enclosing a rather heavy, trefoil arch.

Mr. Perkins' triptych (Pl. 103) represents in the center the Madonna enthroned between two angels with two saints, St. John the Baptist and St. Peter, standing in front of the throne, and on the wings the Nativity and the Crucifixion. All the figures are very slender and elegant with supple limbs and rather attenuated faces. Although the Madonna is represented more than twice the size of the rest of the figures she hardly makes an impression of heaviness. Weight and volume seem altogether foreign to the art of this subtle painter. The types of the angels and also the Virgin's face, marked by the long, slightly curved noses, correspond rather closely with several types in the frescoes from the life of the Virgin in the Lower Church at Assisi; still more characteristic of the painter is the soft and fluent treatment of the mantles. But this triptych is probably comparatively early and consequently shows the peculiarities of the master less marked than in some of the pictures mentioned below.

The little altar picture in the late Herbert P. Horne's collection (Pl. 104) represents in the center Christ on the cross between the Virgin and St. John, and on the wings, which are of two storeys, St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, and above them a kneeling youth in prayer and St. Francis receiving the stigmata. The composition as a whole makes a sparse and meager impression. The small, frail figures are set far apart. They are draped in mantles of soft material falling in long, flowing folds. St. John closely resembles the corresponding figure in the Santa Chiara triptych, and Mary recalls one of the nuns in the same picture. One can hardly mistake the narrow face, with the long, somewhat oblique nose; the

soft, attenuated rhythm of the folds is equally characteristic. The figure of Christ is in a comparatively poor state of preservation — the face, particularly, is badly damaged — but he hangs in the same way as in the larger altarpiece.

Another little picture which must be given to the same master, though to an earlier period of his activity, is the Crucifixion in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (Pl. 105), officially honored with the name of Giotto. The Christ is here almost the same figure as in the fresco of the Crucifixion in the Lower Church, just as in the fresco we see the Magdalen on her knees embracing the foot of the cross, thereby producing a feeling of uncertainty as to the connection of the cross with the ground. The figures are perhaps better proportioned, in general, than we should expect from this painter, but the flowing design, the soft draping of the mantles in parallel folds, and, to some extent, also, the types, indicate that the picture is by the master whose work we have been describing.

A still smaller picture, in the Museum in Strassburg (Pl. 105), representing the same subject, shows stylistic correspondences in the drawing of the figures and the draping of the mantles, but the figure of Christ is somewhat different. The picture probably emanated from the same workshop. There is also a large crucifix (Pl. 106) in San Felice in Florence which must be grouped with these small pictures of the Crucifixion. The Christ-figure corresponds closely, except that it is broader and apparently a little more firmly modeled — probably owing to the larger scale.

The most interesting of the group is a large altarpiece (Pl. 107), originally painted for the high altar of the Duomo in Florence, but now carefully preserved in the dark crypt under the altar of San Zenobio. It is painted on both sides, and divided into five sections, with triangular gables. The form of the picture and its frame is rather heavy and primitive, indicating an early date, probably not later than the 1320's.

On the front, the Virgin holds the central place, to the right are St. Zenobius and St. Crescentius, to the left St. Miniatus and St. Eugenius, all in half-length. On the reverse are, in the middle, the Annunciation, and on the sides, four small saints, full length, standing in landscapes: St. John the Baptist, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Reparata, St. Nicholas. Especially in these small and elegant figures, clad in soft mantles with tight folds, we recognize the master from Assisi, though it must be readily admitted that he here stands on a higher level. May this be due to the fact that the picture is of an

earlier period? It corresponds in style most closely to Perkins' little triptych.

The Madonna and the four male saints on the front show definite resemblance of type to certain of the angels in the Allegories. The attenuation of the faces, the elongated, oblique noses, the long, narrow eyes, and the sentimental inclination of the heads, undeniably recall figures from the Allegories and from the frescoes of the lives of Mary and Christ. But the drawing is unusually firm; the modeling has a plastic quality that we are not accustomed to find in this master. He here comes closer to Giotto's mode of expression and style of figure than in any of the frescoes, perhaps because this picture is earlier than any of his other works that we have considered, and was painted under the guidance of Giotto, or in any case under the direct inspiration of his art.

Considerably later is a little Madonna in the John G. Johnson collection in Philadelphia (Pl. 108). The Virgin is shown in half-length with a book in her right hand and the child sitting on her left arm. He is a plump little boy, nestling close to his mother and leaning his head against her cheek. His movement is lively and expressive; he leans forward and kicks his feet, with one hand grasping his mother's veil and with the other tightly holding a tiny puppy. The whole figure has a humorous turn, owing to the chubby shape, the movement, and the rather natural little dog which in this case replaces the more customary bird in the child's hand. The elongated type of Mary and particularly the drawing of her eyes, seems to us to connect this picture with the paintings previously described, and the unusually spirited and naturalistic treatment of the traditional subject brings it into close relationship to certain of the frescoes from the life of the Virgin in the Lower Church in Assisi.

6

THE FRESCOES IN SAN FRANCESCO AT PISTOJA

AFTER all that we have seen of the work of this master, it is natural to inquire, with a degree of curiosity, whether anything is known of his name and personality. He was evidently one of Giotto's most active pupils, and was entrusted with the execution of the greater part of the Allegories, and with the whole series of pictures from the lives of Christ and the Virgin. One cannot truthfully say that he has a great and powerful personality; he seems to a high degree dependent on models and external sources of inspiration, but he has an individual temperament of a sensitive, lyrical inclination.

The period of this artist's activity can be assigned with great probability to the second quarter of the fourteenth century. He is a characteristic representative of that tendency in early Trecento art which more and more diverges from Giotto's pronounced plastic style, and, instead, makes new conquests in the domain of the picturesque and decorative mode of expression which marks the ripening of Gothic.

We have already in the previous chapter given some information about Giotto's closest pupils, as mentioned by Villani and Ghiberti. Of the three artists, Stefano, Maso, and Taddeo, we have connected the first with the frescoes in the St. Nicholas Chapel; neither Maso nor Taddeo can be identified with the master of the Allegories, because Ghiberti mentions works of theirs in Florence which show an entirely different character.

Not until the writers of the middle of the sixteenth century, the anonymous author of the *Codice Magliabechiano* (xvii, 17)¹ who composed his treatise on the foundation of older records, and Vasari, who wrote his *Lives* mainly on the basis of oral tradition, is the circle of Giotto's pupils widened. The former mentions Bernardo Daddi and Jacopo dal Casentino, the latter adds Puccio Capanna.

Bernardo and Jacopo are known by several authentic works which have nothing in common with the frescoes in Assisi. There remains Puccio Capanna, of whose work Vasari has a good deal to say, dwelling particularly on his extensive activity in Assisi. It is in his biography of Giotto that Vasari mentions Puccio.

First, he says, quite generally: "Dipinse il medesimo (Puccio) in Ascesi nella chiesa di San Francesco molte opere dopo la morte di

¹ See note, p. 104.

Giotto," but returns, after he has mentioned the artist's work in Florence and Pistoja, to the paintings at Assisi in the following words: "Dipinse ancora nella già detta città d'Assesi, nella chiesa di sotto di San Francesco, alcune storie della passione di Gesù Cristo in fresco con buona practica e molto risoluta."¹

Vasari's statement, that Puccio painted scenes from the Passion of Christ in the Lower Church at Assisi, has usually been discarded with the remark that the only real scenes of the Passion to be found in the Lower Church unmistakably belong to Pietro Lorenzetti, as first was pointed out by Crowe and Cavalcaselle. The same writers, however, apply Vasari's statement to the frescoes of the life of Christ that we have previously described, and add that "Scenes illustrative of the Passion in the Lower Church of Assisi would do him honour were it possible to forget that Giotto is the author of them."² It is consequently only their conviction, based on considerations of style, which prevents them from recognizing these works as Puccio's. The manner in which such trained readers of Vasari apply his words in this case is of the greatest interest. In our opinion, their application gives the only possible explanation of what Vasari meant. "Alcune storie della passione di Gesù Cristo" is not, to be sure, an exact title for scenes of the life of Christ from the Nativity to the Crucifixion, but similar inaccuracies are very common in Messer Giorgio. Besides, it is conceivable that he confused in his memory the frescoes by Pietro Lorenzetti and those by "Puccio Capanna," as they are situated in their respective transepts. He himself furnishes strong support for the supposition that he meant the frescoes in question by his characterization of Puccio's manner of expression. "Indeed," he writes, "from all that one can judge, Puccio had entirely adopted his master Giotto's manner and method of working, and he well understood how to apply it in the work he executed." Further on Vasari writes, "I can say with reason that in Assisi, where most of his works are, and where he seems to have helped Giotto to paint, they regard him as a citizen, and there still live to this day members of the Capanni family. Hence one can easily draw the conclusion that he was born in Florence, as some have written, and that he was Giotto's pupil; but that he later took a wife in Assisi, and left children and descendants. But as it is of no importance to know more about this, it may be enough to say that he was a good master."³

¹ Vasari, *Vita di Giotto*, ed. Sansoni, i, 403.

² Cf. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, new English ed., ii, 147.

³ Cf. Vasari, ed. Sansoni, i, 404.

From documents, we know of Puccio Capanna only that he was inscribed in the Guild of St. Luke in Florence, and that in 1347 he was reckoned among the leading painters of the city. He is mentioned in this year, together with Stefano, Taddeo, and Orcagna, as one of the best masters proposed for the execution of an altar picture for San Giovanni Fuoricivitas in Pistoja (the picture was finally ordered from Taddeo).¹ We do not know the year of Puccio's death, but it probably occurred soon after.

Vasari assigns to Puccio, besides the paintings at Assisi, the frescoes in the choir of San Francesco at Pistoja,² and this attribution is confirmed by later authors, especially Ciampi (1810), who refers to Vasari's account but at the same time says that the old chronicle of the cloister records that Puccio began certain works in the choir of San Francesco which were interrupted by his death. ("Dicono i ricordi del convento che principio a lavoravi Puccio Capanna, ma la morte gli impedi compiere il lavoro.")³ The paintings in the side chapels are plainly of later date.

The frescoes of the choir are now in a state of utter ruin. They had been completely hidden under a thick layer of greenish-white plaster, which at the end of the last century was partly chipped off, but so carelessly that the paintings uncovered were seriously damaged and unless speedily cared for will be totally lost.

There seem to have been originally ten scenes in the choir from the life of St. Francis, probably introduced by a representation of Francis forsaking his father and concluding with his death, but of these there are visible only No. 2, St. Francis Kneeling before the Crucifix in San Damiano; No. 4, the Dream of Pope Innocent III; No. 6, St. Francis before the Sultan; and half of No. 8, St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata. Besides these there are figures of saints on each side of the window, and, in a niche to the right of the entrance to the choir, the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt.

The compositions on the legend of St. Francis are more or less faithful reproductions of the canonical frescoes in the Upper Church at Assisi, which the painter has apparently had occasion to study carefully. He perhaps even made drawings of them and transferred the compositions, with certain modifications imposed by the spaces, to the walls of San Francesco in Pistoja. This is what seems to have

¹ Cf. note, p. 104.

² "Ed in Pistoia fece a fresco la Cappella Maggiore della Chiesa di San Francesco." Vasari, ed. Sansoni, i, 403.

³ Cf. Ciampi, *Notizie inedite della Sagrestia Pistoiese de' Belli Arredi*, Firenze, 1810.

happened at least in the cases of the two first mentioned frescoes, St. Francis in San Damiano (Pl. 109) and the Dream of Innocent III.

The chapel in which the youth kneels before the speaking crucifix is drawn obliquely from the side, so we can see into the apse and at the same time get a transverse view of the nave. The architectural element is the same as in Assisi, except that the columns of the lower story are more slender and the walls of the upper story a little thinner and lower. The younger painter attempts to get greater width and spaciousness, and he has made the figure more flexible.

In his representation of the dream of Innocent III (Pl. 110), in which the Pope sees St. Francis holding up the collapsing Lateran basilica, the artist has accurately copied both the figures and the architecture of the Assisi frescoes, but here, too, as in the former case, the figures are made thinner, the proportions lighter. The divergence is especially noticeable in the columns of the basilica, which is otherwise built exactly like its model. It is of unusual interest, too, to notice how the younger master, though he tries to copy his model faithfully, even in the drawing of the saint who steadies the toppling building with his shoulder, cannot produce the same significant impression of weight and resisting strength.

St. Francis before the Sultan (Pl. 111) is also composed in a manner similar to the Assisi fresco, though with the difference that the fire is placed between the sultan and the saint: both St. Francis and the Mohammedan priests stand to the left; the sultan sits to the right on a high throne, surrounded by his attendants. The architecture is noticeably lighter and more spindly than in Assisi. The sultan's throne is placed in a peculiar, high, circular building with wiry columns. The figures are badly damaged, but one can still detect rather fine characterization both of the sultan and of the man with a turban standing guard beside the throne. The suppleness of the figures is most noticeable in comparison with the Assisi frescoes, and also the soft treatment of the stuffs.

St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata is still largely covered with whitewash, and also badly worn. The chief figure is not visible — we therefore cannot compare it with the Assisi fresco — but we do find the reading friar who sits at one side turning round to see what is happening. The picture is completed by an open landscape, finicky and restless, dotted with trees and small animals. The artist's taste for naturalistic detail has not been controlled by any consideration of unified decorative effect.

Of the original frescoes there remain also the saints on each side of the window, spare forms with elongated bodies and small, oval faces (Pl. 112), who recall, in their main features, the big figures of the right transept in San Francesco. In quatrefoils on the vault over the entrance are busts of prophets, whose fine, sensitive type rouses memories of the Assisi frescoes. Opposite, in an isolated niche, is painted by another hand a representation of the last communion of Mary of Egypt. The Assisi painter obviously had nothing to do with this picture.

Complete certainty as to the master of the choir frescoes in San Francesco at Pistoja is at present hardly possible. According to Vasari and other writers, as we have said, they are the work of Puccio Capanna, and no one can doubt that they are by a pupil of Giotto, although a comparatively late one. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, on the authority of a half-destroyed inscription in the entrance to the chapel, conjecture that these frescoes were painted to the order of Bandino Conti Ciantori in 1343. This date accords with the style of the frescoes, and gives us, under the circumstances, an argument for not dating them earlier.

The frescoes in Assisi, on the contrary, the Allegories and the Lives of Christ and the Virgin (likewise the other pictures in the right transept), must be dated in the twenties or at least not far into the next decade. A period of something like fifteen years must have elapsed between the works in Assisi and in Pistoja, which would naturally account for important modifications in the artist's style.

The decisive question, whether the painter is the same in Assisi and in Pistoja, cannot therefore be answered with certainty for the present, although this hypothesis appears possible and by no means improbable. There seems to be much of the same spirit and interpretation in these two sets of frescoes; so many correspondences of form and type bridge the gap between them, that the assumption of identity in the masters who executed them is defensible. But not until more of the paintings in San Francesco in Pistoja are freed from the concealing plaster can we confidently pronounce on the question, and then it will be easier to decide how much Puccio Capanna painted in Assisi.

The other works of Puccio which Vasari mentions are entirely destroyed.

IX

TADDEO GADDI

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

NONE of Giotto's other pupils attained such renown in later centuries as Taddeo Gaddi. His name was not infrequently made almost synonymous with that of the school of Giotto, and he was mentioned with high commendation by all the authors who discussed the art of this period. Vasari's statement, that Taddeo was Giotto's godson and his chosen pupil and assistant, was often repeated, likewise Cennino Cennini's story, that Taddeo served twenty-four years in Giotto's workshop. One could scarcely ask for more! Such a privilege should have made an able painter of even the most backward pupil, particularly according to the ideas of that period, which looked upon manual dexterity as perhaps the most important requirement for a painter. Taddeo's close personal relationship with Giotto was really used as a criterion of his artistic importance and power.

The fame accorded him by posterity, however, was not entirely due to his preëminence in Giotto's workshop. We should remember that Taddeo belonged to a family that produced not only a line of artists but of prosperous merchants, cardinals, and statesmen, who exercised great social influence in Florence. Unquestionably even the artistic members of the Gaddi family became more famous as the wealth and social prestige of the family increased. Whatever lofty opinions one may hold as to Florence of the Renaissance and its recognition of individual character and merit, it is vain to deny that wealth and political influence, then as now, were two of the surest guarantees of popular favor. The fact that Taddeo's name has achieved a higher place in general estimation than most of the other pupils of Giotto, obscuring the renown of more gifted painters, can hardly be attributed to his artistic achievements. Vasari himself seems to hint at this in his life of Taddeo, when he points out how useful it is for merit to receive generous reward, "by which slumbering talents are often roused to endeavors which bring not only fame and honor to themselves and their fatherland, but riches and nobility to their descendants, as happened to the descendants of the painter, Taddeo Gaddi."

It is only in recent times, since a stricter aesthetic appreciation has been brought to bear, that Taddeo's very prominent place in Florentine Trecento painting has been somewhat impaired. Several authorities have expressed derogatory opinions of his attainments, and have deplored Giotto's choice of so unworthy an heir to his artistic legacy. Taddeo has been accused of mannerism, of imitating the weaker side of Giotto's art — the first and strongest reason for the decline of painting after the death of the master.

This altered appraisal depends in no small degree on the same general modification of taste which has degraded the Carracci and Guido Reni from their former position of favor, but it has also been influenced by the habitual choice of Taddeo's least successful work as the standard of judgment. Vasari correctly estimates Taddeo's relative significance in the development of Trecento art when he writes, "Taddeo always continued Giotto's manner, but he did not improve it, except in regard to color, which he made fresher and more vivacious than Giotto's."

If we may believe Franco Sacchetti's anecdote of the artists at San Miniato and their conversation about the state of painting after the death of Giotto, Taddeo himself realized that neither he nor his contemporaries were able to uphold the best Giottesque traditions. The introduction of a story which throws a certain light upon the artists of that time and gives us an idea of who were the leading men, may be well worth quoting here. Sacchetti writes (*Novella*, cxxxvi):

"In the city of Florence, which was always extraordinarily rich in new men, there were once certain painters and other masters who met in a place outside the town called San Miniato al Monte, on account of certain paintings and other works which were being done at the church there; when, having been dined by the abbot, and well fed and wine, they began to dispute; and among other topics, one of them, who was called Orcagna, the *capo maestro* of the noble oratory of Our Lady of Orto San Michele, put this question: who was the greatest master of painting who had arisen, next to Giotto? Some said it was Cimabue, some Stefano, some Bernardo, some Buffalmacco, some one, and some another. Taddeo Gaddi, who was one of the company, said: there have certainly been plenty of able painters, and they have painted in a way that is impossible for human nature to improve upon; but this art has grown and is growing worse and worse every day."

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Taddeo, son of the well known painter and mosaic-worker, Gaddo Gaddi, was probably born about the beginning of the century, (according to Litta he was born in 1300, but as this author gives a date of death which can be proved wrong, we must be suspicious also of his date of birth).¹ He probably began his artistic career at a very early age as an apprentice in Giotto's studio, after a while assisting the master in more important ways, and becoming an independent master about the middle twenties. We find him inscribed among the "Medici e Speziali" in the roll which covers the years 1320-53. We have reason to assign Taddeo's earliest known works to the later twenties; early in the ensuing decade he executed the large fresco cycle in the Cappella Baroncelli in Santa Croce. Several other works in the same church probably followed during the next few years. In 1342 we find Taddeo at Pisa painting in San Francesco, and later in the Campo Santo. In 1349 his name appears in the *gabella* (the tax list) of Florence. At that time he belonged to the parish of San Pietro Maggiore, and according to a note in the *gabella* of 1351, he lived in his own house in the Via Santa Maria (the house was sold by his heirs in 1480). He was then married to Francesca d'Albizzi Ormanni and had about him a group of four or five sons, of whom three were educated as painters in their father's workshop: Giovanni, Niccolò, and Agnolo. Of the two other sons, Zanobi and Alessandro, the former seems to have been a merchant, though he also carried on diplomatic negotiations for his native city; concerning the latter, no information is available.

Taddeo at that time held a leading position among the Florentine artists. He is named first among "the best painters in Florence," in 1347, in reference to the order referred to above of the altarpiece for San Giovanni Fuoricivitas in Pistoja (awarded to Taddeo in 1353). We know, further, that he had a prominent place on the commission for the Duomo in the years 1359, 1363, and 1366. It may also be noted that Taddeo is mentioned in the *gabella* of 1352 as "Arbitro," probably in some quarrel about property, and in 1355 as the purchaser of a city lot. These short notices, however, throw no further light on his personal history. In the records of the Guild of St. Luke we find opposite Taddeo's name the date 1366 (altered from 1350), no doubt the year of his death, for in the *gabella* of that year we find the entry, "Donna Francesca f. olim Albizzi Ormanni et uxor olim Taddei Gaddi."² Taddeo's wife, Francesca d'Albizzi,

¹ Cf. Litta, *Genealogia. Gaddi di Firenze; Famiglia estinta nel 1607*.

² The biographical notes on the Gaddi family are taken from Passerini's genealogical manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, and from the Spoglie Stroziane, *ibidem*.

survived him for many years; her name appears in the *gabella* for the years 1372, 1376, and 1382.

The father's *bottega* was continued for a few years at least after his death by the three painter brothers in company. In the *gabella* of the year 1376 is recorded, "Johannes, Nicolaus, Angelus, Francisca olim Taddei Gaddi, S. Piero Maggiore emerunt. . . ."

The brothers, naturally, had been jointly trained to their calling by their father, and there is no reason to suppose that their individual variation in style was so great as to prevent their working all three on one order without producing noticeable inconsistencies. This circumstance may probably account for a whole group of pictures which approach the style of Agnolo Gaddi but cannot be ascribed to him in person.

The fourth brother, Zanobi, "civis et mercator," was sent about the year 1381, in company with one Giuliano di Bartolomeo, as special Florentine envoy to the Venetian Republic on the occasion of certain peace negotiations. He made his will in 1400 and died in the same year. The family was perpetuated by his eight children, and reached its greatest prosperity in the person of his grandson, Niccolo di Sinibaldo Gaddi, the founder of the world-famous collection of books and works of art which according to his will passed to the Pitti family and finally (1755) was bought by the state.

THE FRESCOES IN SANTA CROCE

LORENZO Ghiberti comments on Taddeo Gaddi's unusual productivity: "fece moltissime cappelle et moltissimi lavorii in muro; fu doctissimo maestro e fece moltissime tavole, egregiamente fatte," — but mentions only three of his works: a big panel in Santa Maria dei Servi, "con molte storie e figure," and two frescoes in Santa Croce. One of these — according to Vasari's account on the partition wall that divided the choir from the nave — represented St. Francis reviving the child that fell out of a tower window. "The child lies stretched out on the pavement, while the mother and numerous other women weep over it," writes Ghiberti, and adds, "Questa storia fu fatta con tanta doctrine e arte et con tanto ingegno, che nella mia età non vidi di cosa picta, fatta con tanta perfectione." Taddeo is supposed to have introduced Dante and Giotto into this painting, as well as a portrait of himself. The account is further verified in the *Libro di Antonio Billi*, where we learn that Taddeo stood between the two heroes of Florentine art. This fresco was entirely destroyed when the wall on which it was painted was removed. It is therefore impossible to form any opinion of the composition, but one inevitably remembers in this connection the two compositions in the right transept of the Lower Church at Assisi representing the same story. In one of these we noticed three portrait figures of which the furthest is usually called Giotto, and the one in front resembles Dante. Is the middle figure here, too, an artist's portrait? One is tempted to think so, and to see in the group the model of Taddeo's composition.

The second fresco mentioned by Ghiberti was placed over the door to the sacristy and represented Christ among the doctors. He adds that it was partly destroyed by the erection of a "concio di macigno." In just this place there have been discovered, some years ago, under the plaster, a few figures which evidently belong to the composition in question (Pl. 113). We see the young Christ seated on a Gothic throne. Below him appears the head of an elderly, bearded man, and to the right two more heads of men who, moved by curiosity, peer in through an arch, following with intense interest the words of the speaker. All these faces make a powerful and characteristic effect. Christ, turned in full front, is a broad, thick-set figure; his face is full, with regular features, but lacking in any finer psychological modulation. We do not get the impression that

he is talking; he looks rather like a solemn idol. The figures at the side are more vivacious and show an attempt at individualization.

In all probability this picture was executed at about the same time as the frescoes in the adjoining Baroncelli Chapel. According to certain old records quoted by Milanesi (Vasari, i, 573, note) these frescoes were ordered by Tano and Gherardo di Mico Baroncelli in the year 1332, and were finished in 1338. The price is said to have been 807 *lire*. According to other statements, the chapel itself was not completed until 1338. In either case the pictures may be assigned to the thirties, and must be regarded as the earliest large work by Taddeo that has survived. Probably Taddeo had already begun his activity in Santa Croce as an assistant under Giotto in the work on the Bardi and Peruzzi frescoes, and when the old master was forced by other occupation to leave Florence, he recommended his pupil for the continuation of the decoration of the same church. If we may judge from Vasari's description, the great Franciscan church remained for many years the chief field of Taddeo's artistic activity.

He painted here, besides the Christ among the Doctors and St. Francis Resuscitating the Dead Child, large series of frescoes in the Cappella Baroncelli, in the Cappella Bellaci, and in the Cappella di Sant Andrea, as well as a Pietà in the right aisle under the Marsuppini tomb. Of these paintings there remain only the Baroncelli frescoes setting forth the life of the Virgin. There is also preserved in the Accademia di Belle Arti the series of little pictures which originally embellished the doors of the cupboards in the sacristy in Santa Croce.

As the earliest dated picture by Taddeo Gaddi in Santa Croce, it is customary to name the Madonna (half-length) in the lunette field over the Baroncelli tomb. The tomb bears the date 1327, but this date does not mark the year of the execution of the painting, which was unquestionably done later; in style it corresponds to the frescoes inside the Baroncelli Chapel. These, then, can be most conveniently taken as a starting-point if one wishes to form an idea of Taddeo's individual style in the first years of his independent activity.

Here are recorded the more important incidents from the story of Anna and Joachim and the life of Mary, beginning with the expulsion of Joachim from the temple, and ending with the adoration of the Magi. There are in addition some separate figures of David, St. Joseph and other saints, and allegorical figures on the ceiling.

The subjects are partly those which Giotto illustrated in the Arena Chapel, but the compositions are so entirely unlike his that we must infer that Taddeo never saw Giotto's Paduan works. He apparently was not yet one of the master's assistants at the time of the decoration of the Arena Chapel. If we did not know from historical evidence that Taddeo worked for a score of years in Giotto's workshop, these frescoes would hardly give rise to any such assumption. The conception is diametrically opposite: whereas Giotto sought severely defined, firm, architectonic composition, using accessories and details only as symbolic setting to the figures, Taddeo could hardly have been more detailed in his representation, or more picturesque in the rendering of the surroundings in which his figures appear.

The first two frescoes, the Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple, and the Annunciation of the Angel to Joachim (Pl. 114), are in this respect especially enlightening. A high three-aisled basilica, shown half from the side, forms the setting for the ignominious casting out of Joachim. The structure is rendered with a pretense at realistic effect very different from anything in Giotto's architecture; it is not symbolic but naturalistic scenery, yet it is really much less cogent, architectonically, than Giotto's simple shrine. The construction of the building is rather imaginary — irrespective of the omission of two walls in order to show the figures — and the faulty perspective makes its stability precarious. The figures are as numerous as can be accommodated. Besides the high priest and Joachim, who is retreating on the run, there are six other participants, of whom one is on his hands and knees, scoffing at Joachim, another rushes to the altar with his sacrificial lamb, and the rest stand as onlookers, more or less vividly expressing their surprise. Bustling haste pervades the scene, and one derives no sense of the deep religious import of the incident. It looks more like the hustle of a railway station or something of that sort.

The other half of the picture is occupied by a rocky landscape, which on account of the effective management of the lighting seems to extend far into the background. Joachim, who sits on a ledge in the middle distance, turns sharply round to look at the angel who addresses him from on high. Two shepherds come wandering along a path that winds among the rocks, and in the foreground sits a shepherd lad who is fingering his pipe, while the sheep and goats drink from the brook or search for food in the crannies of the mountainside.

This episode in the foreground is a little pastoral idyll by itself, with a breath of real fresh air. It contributes nothing in particular to the narrative, and does not occur in Giotto's version, but here in Taddeo's fresco it is the most spontaneous expression of the artist's individual temperament and method of interpretation. It gives us an inkling of the direction in which his special talent lay.

He was evidently not the man to produce a unified monumental composition, in the spirit of Giotto; from this point of view he completely failed. The picture disintegrates into several dissimilar parts, their contents only loosely related. One can hardly speak of any dramatic concentration or organic structure in the composition. The figures merely come on the stage to play their parts and then go off again, and we wait for the scene to change for the next act. The indispensable and unfailing connection between figures, landscape, and architecture which characterizes Giotto's compositions, is entirely lacking here. The artist has not seen the necessity of rhythmically combining the elements of his composition, but instead has attempted to develop a wider display of illustrative stage-managing and heightened illusion of detail. He has tried to obtain greater effect by expanding his landscape and his architecture, at the same time increasing the naturalness of their proportion to the figures, but as all this takes no stronger organic form, the result remains, to say the least, unbalanced.

Taddeo's figure style can be even better studied in some of the other frescoes. The story continues with the Meeting of Joachim and Anna, before the Golden Gate at Jerusalem (Pl. 115). Anna, accompanied by three women, has come out through the gate. Toward her Joachim hastens forward hurriedly and Anna throws herself into his arms, falling forward stiffly, like a statue that has toppled off its base. She would unquestionably hit the ground awfully hard if it were not for the stalwart resistance interposed by Joachim. The hurried pace of the movement of the main figures is accelerated in the shepherd who comes dancing in with long steps behind Joachim. When one thinks of Giotto's presentation of the same subject, one recognizes how little Taddeo understood the basic monumental quality of the master's figure style. He has tried to imitate Giotto's method of expression: the proportions and the treatment of drapery are obviously inspired by the figures in the Cappella Peruzzi, the personages are imposingly and effectively draped in their ample mantles. The women who are standing still have an air of statuesque loftiness, but this is perceptibly weakened the moment the figures

start to move. The superficiality of the artist's interpretation of form then becomes evident: he is incapable of expressing correctly and adequately the construction of the human body.

The background in this picture is filled by a view of the city which is naturalistic and elaborate. Above the numerous towers rises a central church with a dome, probably intended for the Chain Dome in Jerusalem. If one remembers how the city in Giotto's painting was reduced to a splendid gate, massive and resistant in its simplicity, Taddeo's version seems trifling. It illustrates the story, but in no wise strengthens the effect of reality — quite the opposite. It has the same accidental, theatrical character as the figures.

The Nativity of the Virgin is one of the most successful pictures in the Cappella Baroncelli but it has unfortunately suffered more than the rest. The main figure, St. Anna, who was sitting in the bed, is entirely gone, and over the whole background is painted a new drapery. What remains is the bathing scene in the foreground, a homely group with the same touch of intimate naturalism which attracted us in the pastoral scene in the first fresco. We also see two women who come to visit the mother, bringing gifts; a servant lifts a large basket from the head of one of them. This simple episode with its tone of intimacy has been interpreted with a remarkable eye for the characteristic. The painter has evidently observed his figures in real life, and perhaps even made sketches from nature before beginning to paint on the wall. The picture is not a great decorative or imaginative work of art, nevertheless it is remarkable as a free, genre-like combination of figures taken from nature. This method of procedure is entirely contrary to that of Giotto, to whom naturalistic effect always was subordinate to abstract rhythm and structure. In Giotto's representation of the birth of St. John, in the Cappella Peruzzi, nothing is sacrificed to genre, the composition is strictly architectonic, the figures have definite functions as parts of a rhythmic unity.

In the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (Pl. 116), Taddeo shows very graphically his propensity for theatrical arrangement of the scene. From a foundation of three high terraces, approached by flights of steps turned at various angles, rises a three-aisled church-building of the same type as in the first fresco. To the right of the temple is a loggia or cloister; on the left a palace with a curious spectator in the window. All the buildings are carefully executed with great attention to decorative detail; none the less the whole

(as a result of the bad perspective) gives the impression of an unsafe and tottering piece of scenery, or a toy building. The problem was too difficult for the artist's powers. The figures show a surprising mixture of genre naturalism and boldness of form. The little Virgin, who stands on the first terrace, is easily the most pleasing. She turns round and solemnly addresses her parents and playmates, who stand at the foot of the steps, waving her farewell. She is a quaint little child, posed in a declamatory attitude. There are several onlookers besides Anna and Joseph: two kneeling women and two bearded men, whose vast, sacklike shapes bear witness to an effort not merely to reproduce but to surpass the monumental figures of Giotto.

The Marriage of Mary and Joseph (Pl. 117) shows the same inclination toward tasteless extravagance, hurried restlessness, and confusion in the composition. We see a tightly packed mass of people, of whom none really has room to move, yet several make violent exertions in diverse directions. The main incident, the high priest joining the hands of Mary and Joseph, is almost swallowed up in the crowd. The artist obviously did not fix his attention on a clear and striking representation of the betrothal itself, but tried to line up as many stately figures as possible, and incidentally to work in a few portraits. According to local tradition, the two bearded men on the left are Gaddo Gaddi and Andrea Tafi; but whether this is true or not, they certainly appear to be portraits. The women show more uniformly the types Taddeo so liked to use, characterized by the full, oval face, the long, incurving nose, the squinting, slit eyes, the low forehead. The children in the foreground, who barely come up to the women's knees, are full-grown pigmies not only in shape and proportion but in their manner of moving and gesticulating. This picture, more than any other in the chapel, shows the faults rather than the virtues of Taddeo's manner. The lack, already emphasized, of architectonic design, which allows many of Taddeo's compositions to become more or less aimless conglomerations of figures, is here the cause of the notably weak space composition and the meaningless jumble of people.

Taddeo attained far more successful and original solutions of the difficulties of composition in the following pictures, showing the Nativity (Pl. 118) and related incidents — the Angel's Message to the Shepherds (Pl. 119) and the Star Appearing to the Wise Men. The pictures are tall and narrow; the subjects give no opportunity for the introduction of an audience of secondary characters.

The Nativity introduces a new feature: Mary sits tenderly clasping the child in her arms, rejoicing over the heavenly gift. The ox and the ass, placed in the grotto itself, back of the cradle, stretch forward their heads in sympathy. The herdsman who watches the idyllic scene is a strongly characterized peasant type.

Next we see how the shepherds out on the pastures received the glad tidings of the angel. It is a still, winter night. The mountain-side, where the two shepherds and their herd of sheep and goats are lying, is shrouded in darkness. Suddenly there bursts from the heavens a glow of light, and in the glow appears an angel. The shepherds wake, and peer up; one shades his eyes from the blinding glare (Pl. 119). Even the nearer goats raise their heads, but with eyes closed, and the sheepdog stretches himself sleepily. The strong glare from the sky lights up the ground about the figures, but the further parts of the mountain remain in half-darkness. The effect of *chiaroscuro* successfully suggests something of the quiet of the holy night. The artist has here solved a problem of painting which had hardly attracted the attention of Giotto, and he has introduced into his work a tone of pictorial naturalism that attests his sensitive temperament. Once more it looks as if Taddeo must have made direct studies of nature for his painting. He at least had his eyes open to the importance of *chiaroscuro* for producing atmosphere, and he knew the characteristic movements of men and animals in an unusual situation like this.

In the corresponding picture (Pl. 120) also, where the three kings are shown kneeling on a rock while the holy star (represented as a child surrounded by rays of light) appears to them, the chief problem is *chiaroscuro*. The rock remains in comparative darkness, which is gradually dispelled by the bright beams from the new constellation. The light strikes the kings: the foremost shades his eyes, the others look up, reverently praying, toward the marvel. The characterization is neither noteworthy nor original — the figures are rather badly preserved — but the way in which the artist has handled the problem of lighting gives ample evidence of his pronounced pictorial talent. It was certainly just this capacity of Taddeo's for producing illusory light effects and his interest in intimate naturalistic touches, that won him so many admirers among his contemporaries.

In the representation of the adoration of the Magi (Pl. 121), Taddeo's delight in extravagantly large figures has had a less fortunate influence on his composition. The high, narrow picture is filled two-thirds of the way up by the two standing kings. At their feet kneels

the third, doubled up like a sack, kissing the child's feet. The child is held naturally on his mother's knee; she sits squeezed into a narrow portico of such fragile construction that one fears that it will collapse. Joseph is a little huddled figure in the right corner. Disregarding the unevenness and the scarcely restrained exaggeration of the figure drawing, one misses any real artistic explanation of the significance of the theme, any such sentiment of reverence and devotion as that which makes Giotto's adoring kings so appealing and so beautiful.

This impression of superficial illustrative art, deficient in any deeper comprehension of the human or artistic import of the Biblical narrative, is here so much the more remarkable because we know that Taddeo's compositions were partly the result of his acquaintance with the pious monk and penitential preacher, Fra Simone Fidati, called "il Santo da Cascia."¹ There exists a letter from Taddeo to Fra Simone, in which the painter shows his sincere devotion to the austere confessor and healer, and asks him for his prayers to avert the sufferings with which he is visited. It also appears that Taddeo studied with great industry Fra Simone's interpretations of the gospels (including the Apocryphal Gospels) called *La Vita Christiana*, and used the book as guide in designing some of his compositions; but he plainly failed to extract from Fra Simone any real artistic inspiration. His respect for the monk seems to have restricted him to a perfectly literal reproduction of whatever he read, with no attempt to interpret the spiritual meaning. He permitted himself hardly any independent imagination or elaboration except in the subordinate parts, where his talent for picturesque reproduction of nature occasionally prevailed.

The other frescoes painted by Taddeo in Santa Croce are now, as we have said, mostly destroyed. Only in the Cappella di San Silvestro (Bardi) there remains a much restored representation of the entombment of Christ. The subject may well correspond to the Pietà beside the Marsuppini tomb, mentioned by Vasari, for the burial scene is combined with the mourning over the dead Christ, but if this is correct, the fresco has been removed from its original position. This does not seem impossible, judging from the background, which is painted over with a new design of trees and instruments of the Passion. The style is about the same as in the Baroncelli Chapel. The elongated type with long, slightly incurved nose, is again recognizable. The composition is lunette-shaped, enclosed by an

¹ Cf. "Italo Maione, Fra Simone Fidati e Taddeo Gaddi," in *L'Arte*, 1914, No. 2.

arch, which gives it more coherence than many other frescoes of Taddeo's.

In the ancient refectory adjoining the cloister at Santa Croce, now used as a museum, there is a wall painting by Taddeo and his assistants; a great Last Supper (Pl. 122), which extends the whole width of the room, and above it a Crucifixion combined with an Allegory of the genealogy of the Franciscan Order (Pl. 123), surrounded by four pictures: Christ in the House of the Pharisee, St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata, and two subjects from the legends of St. Benedict and St. Louis of Toulouse.

The Last Supper has considerable historic interest as the first of these great refectory pictures which in the next century came to be regarded as almost obligatory decoration in the dining-rooms of Italian monasteries. Their special didactic purpose, of course, was to remind the monks that they should partake of their daily meals in remembrance of the last meeting of Christ and his disciples. The composition usually follows the account in the Gospel of St. John, where it is related how John leaned on Jesus' bosom and Peter exhorted him to ask Christ about the betrayer — incidents not recorded by Matthew and Mark. The traitor is commonly distinguished by the breadsop which he holds. He is placed alone on the nearer side of the long table, seated with his back half turned, and is characterized as a revoltingly ugly and dwarfish wretch. The other apostles are all ranged along the opposite side of the table, sitting some distance apart at regular intervals, five on each side of Christ, except St. John, who is placed close to the central figure, resting in his arms. This is the arrangement in Taddeo's fresco and so it remains, on the whole — naturally with considerable individual modification — until Leonardo, with an entirely new conception of the tremendous theme, breaks the stiff traditional monotony and imparts to the composition a new meaning, human and dramatic.

Taddeo's fresco is one of the most monotonous of all; the figures have statuesque isolation, their gestures are mechanical. One can hardly speak of any psychological characterization. The unity of the composition depends entirely on the long table: the figures appear each by itself, some of them with fairly good form values.

In the upper frescoes, the Crucifixion and the scenes from the saints' lives, a younger artist has presumably collaborated. The forms are somewhat leaner and harder, especially in the Crucifixion, with its decorative Franciscan family tree, suggesting a tapestry pattern. In the small pictures which represent Christ at the Phari-

see's banquet and St. Louis at another banquet, one notices a freer grouping and a few rather naturalistic figures, but the frescoes are much restored.

Of Taddeo's large frescoes in Florence there remains only one more, so far as we know, a Crucifixion in the sacristy of Ognissanti. Christ hangs on a rather low cross; he has a coarse and unwieldy figure, represented without much incisive characterization, either physical or spiritual: the weight of the body does not appear in the figure any more than the expression of suffering in the face. At the foot of the cross the Magdalen kneels, quite indifferent, and at the sides stand Mary and St. John, St. Benedict and St. Francis. The picture is probably of rather later date, showing Taddeo's style in the shallowness of its decline.

3

THE PISAN FRESCOES

WE know from historical documents that in 1342 Taddeo was occupied on frescoes in the choir of San Francesco at Pisa. Of these, however, only a few repainted figures in the vault and some busts in the arch of the entrance now remain. They give us no standard for judging Taddeo's style at this stage of his evolution. But there are other frescoes by Taddeo in Pisa which reveal the painter at his best. We refer to the legend of Job in the Campo Santo (Pl. 124), traditionally assigned to Francesco da Volterra.

The attribution to Francesco da Volterra was introduced into the history of art by Ernst Förster, on the basis of a misinterpretation of certain documents. According to these, Francesco, with four assistants, was working in the Campo Santo in 1371. Nothing more is specified as to the work they did than that they were restoring certain older frescoes.¹ The statement gives no adequate reason for attributing the Job frescoes to Francesco da Volterra; the question must be decided on grounds of style. Crowe and Cavalcaselle remark that the only picture they know by Francesco — a Madonna in Pugnano near Regoli — is much inferior to the Job frescoes.² This picture has remained unknown to us, unless it may be identified with one in the Galleria Estense in Modena. To judge by the signature of this Madonna, it is really by Francesco da Volterra, and may thus be made the starting-point of this master's work. The picture does not show such correspondences with the Job frescoes that we could accept, without anything further, the identity of the master. Its style is softer and more linear. The painter has evidently been influenced by Taddeo Gaddi, but at the same time and perhaps more noticeably by Sienese art. In our opinion, therefore, Francesco da Volterra cannot be seriously considered as the painter of the frescoes, which are evidently by an able worker of the middle of the fourteenth century. The figure style has that massive, rather plastic, character which after the middle of the century practically disappeared from Florentine art under the influence of Siena. The painter in question obviously never stood in intimate connection with Sienese art. He attaches directly to Giotto, though he has not

¹ Cf. Ernst Förster, *Beiträge zur neueren Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1835. "Über die älteren Wandgemälde im Campo Santo zu Pisa," pp. 113-15.

² Crowe and Cavalcaselle, new English ed., ii, 166, note.

the master's control of monumental figure drawing. The figures are stamped with an exaggerated angularity of form and movement.

Of decisive importance for the decorative impression of these frescoes are the landscapes. All the terrible trials that are visited upon the patient old man — the Sabeans carrying off his oxen and his asses, the fire falling upon his sheep and his servants, the Chaldeans driving away his camels, and Job's own affliction — are enacted among dignified and splendid surroundings against imaginative backgrounds of barren mountains with sparse, brown trees and sheer cliffs in sharp silhouette against a greenish sky. These landscapes contribute largely to the heightening of the emotional effect; they strike that tone of austere majesty which dominates the whole story of Job.

In addition to these, all that is left of the cycle is the Prologue in Heaven (Pl. 125), when God puts all Job's possessions into the hands of Satan. The prologue of Goethe's *Faust* has with good reason been associated with this picture-poem; both are inspired by the same mighty text, both are carried by an empyrean imagination.¹ This is one of those great universal themes, whose fundamental character and tone are more easily grasped in a few broad, suggestive features by a Trecento master than by any more thoroughly naturalistic artist. The painter understands how to set free our imagination: peaceful and limitless extends the ocean, against which lofty mountains and great cities appear like toys. God the Father descends in a radiant *mandorla*, carried by six angels, to the steep summit where Satan has climbed and now stands restlessly turning and stamping, eager to begin his work. The contrast between the two main figures, emphasized by the vastness of the ocean, seems to have a touch of the high pathos of the Old Testament poem. The other frescoes from the legend of Job hardly give us reason to expect anything of such concentrated power. They are rather spread out, confused in grouping, containing more animals than human beings. The unusually decorative landscape combines the scattering scenes into a unified effect.

It may have already appeared, from the points emphasized in this description, how close these frescoes stand to Taddeo Gaddi. If one were to undertake a detailed study of the drawing of the men and the animals, their types and movement, this impression might be verified. We can hardly tax the interest of the reader with a minute scrutiny of this kind, but we wish to point out some particularly

¹ Cf. P. Schubring, Pisa, *Berühmte Kunststätten*, No. 16, p. 92.

characteristic figures. The young shepherd who lies closest to the foreground in the representation of the rain of fire, turning the upper part of his body half round and raising his hand, is just the same figure that we have seen in the picture of the angels coming to the shepherds, in the Baroncelli Chapel. The old, white-bearded Job who kneels and talks to God, pointing vehemently to his stolen sheep, is the same as the old king in the picture of the star appearing to the Magi. The stiff but still monumental gesture (stretching the arm obliquely downwards) is especially characteristic of Taddeo; it appears in several figures in the Cappella Baroncelli.

The conclusion resulting from an analysis of style is further supported by the statements of several older authorities. In the *Libro di Antonio Billi* we find the following item, under Taddeo's name: "A Pisa in Campo Santo molte historie di Job." The same entry recurs in the *Codice Magliabechiano*, written about fifty years later; and in the first edition of his *Vite*, Vasari writes: "Fu condotto a Pisa della comunità, dove nel Campo Santo fece in istorie tutta la vita del patientissimo Giobbe." What caused Vasari, in his second edition, to transfer these frescoes from Taddeo Gaddi to Giotto it is difficult to understand, but in so doing he gave rise to a misunderstanding which has brought about a reaction in the wrong direction, apparently unfounded in any sound criticism of style.

When the Job legend is again generally recognized as the work of Taddeo, it will unquestionably raise him in general esteem as a narrator and decorator. This series discloses an independent, individual artist; not endowed, to be sure, with "Stefano's" power of dramatic representation or with "Puccio Capanna's" captivating lyric temperament, but attractive because of his skill at landscape and his narrative power — not highly polished, but frequently cogent and striking.

4

PANEL PICTURES

TADDEO's natural method of expression was fresco painting. On wide wall surfaces he could unfold the sacred story like a chronicle, without any more vigorous concentration or finer formal balance. His compositions were often arbitrary conglomerations of figures, throngs devoid of space composition or actual rhythm, yet at times they attained a certain speed and energy of narration as we have seen in the Job legend. Taddeo's art is thoroughly illustrative, often in a very literal manner, but it is lacking in decorative quality. It is in the very nature of things that panel painting should not display the artist's most interesting side; in this field he is generally lacking in the decorative rhythm, the expressive use of color and line, which raises the smaller works of other Trecento painters to a level of aesthetic beauty.

The first group of Taddeo's panels comprises the small pictures in Gothic quatrefoils which originally formed the cupboard doors in the sacristy of Santa Croce. Of these there are now twelve, representing scenes from the life of Christ, and ten, showing the more important incidents in the story of St. Francis, in the Accademia in Florence. A single picture, belonging to the latter series, is now in Berlin; the twelfth has disappeared. The paintings were presumably arranged in pairs in three rows, one above the other, on each door; thus there were four in each horizontal line and three in each vertical on the front of a cupboard, which was finished by a rounded gable. One of the gable pictures is preserved in the Accademia: it illustrates on one half the Annunciation, on the other the Ascension.

The pictures from the life of Christ show the Visitation, the Nativity (Pl. 126), the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, Christ among the Doctors (Pl. 127), the Baptism, the Transfiguration, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, Christ and the Magdalen, Christ and Thomas. Of these the first eight show a rather finer and more careful execution than the last four, an impression which is to no small extent due to the rough cleaning to which Nos. 9-12 have been subjected. From the iconographic point of view, several of these scenes from the life of Christ show a deviation from the normal; this has been plausibly explained as the result of the influence of Fra Simone Fidati's exposition of the Biblical stories on Taddeo. In the Nativity, for

instance, we do not find the mother sitting in the traditional manner, but kneeling by the cradle, lifting the covers off the child as if to exhibit him, while Joseph and the shepherds kneel in adoration at a lower level. The whole scene has a more ecstatically religious character than usual; there is here hardly any trace of the human intimacy which distinctly marks Giotto's fresco in Padua. The sentiment is weak, but the arrangement of the scene is calculated to produce a mystic effect.

In the Visitation one notices a similar emphasis on the divine element, especially manifest in the fact that the two women do not familiarly embrace each other; Elizabeth kneels before Mary, stretching out her arms, which barely reach the younger woman.

The Adoration of the Magi consists merely of the Madonna, who sits on a raised platform with the swaddled child on her knee, and the three Wise Men, of whom the eldest kisses the baby's feet. The two others seem to be discussing the guiding star. Formally, the composition is one of the happiest; it is more spacious, with better proportion and more mobile figures than any of the others. The color scale is light and clear; the predominant tones are blue, gold, cinnabar red, and pink, with grayish-white architecture.

Among the other compositions one should notice Christ among the Doctors, where Mary and Joseph stand as though rapt in worship, and the Last Supper, composed quite differently from the usual manner, showing the last scene of the drama, when Judas forsakes his place in the circle of apostles. The figures in all these pictures are rather short and thickset, with big, full faces, straight noses, small mouths, and very long eyes, sometimes almost half-closed. The extremely small openings of the eyes gives a somewhat sleepy expression. The types remind us of those we saw in the Baroncelli altarpiece, especially of some of the kneeling angels with round faces and drowsy eyes. It is certainly possible that Taddeo collaborated in the execution of that picture. The correspondences in style, in any case, give us reason to assign the little Santa Croce pictures to a period when Taddeo was still in intimate contact with Giotto, probably not long after 1330.

The St. Francis pictures are, on the whole, inferior to the series dealing with the life of Christ. The figures have still more compact and bulky proportions. The compositions are, in general, simplified and compressed copies of the standard frescoes in Assisi and Florence. One leaf of the door was presumably occupied by the

following representations (all modeled after the Assisi fresco): (1) St. Francis Forsaking his Father, (2) St. Francis Supporting the Lateran Basilica (Pl. 127), (3) St. Francis before Honorius III, (4) Christmas Night in Greccio, (5) St. Francis Appearing before the Brethren in a Fiery Chariot, (6) the Pope Confirming the Rules of the Order; on the other leaf, (7) St. Francis Appearing before the Brethren in Arles, (8) St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata, (9) the Death of St. Francis, (10) the Martyrdom of the Seven Brethren in Ceuta, (11) (belonging to the Berlin Museum) the Child who Fell from a Tower Restored to Life. No. 12 is missing. These copies are, generally speaking, devoid of any feeling for the decorative or dramatic quality of the originals. Thus one finds, for instance, in the Dream of Pope Innocent, that the imposing church building which appears in the Assisi fresco has become a little pigeon house, which falls on St. Francis from the top of a doorway. In addition, St. Peter has been introduced to call the attention of the sleeping Pope to the threatening phenomenon; this has made the picture clumsier and more crowded. The Death of St. Francis is a free copy of the gorgeous fresco of the Bardi Chapel, but the rhythmic grouping and the lucid space effect which there sustain the monumental impression are here entirely spoiled. These small pictures ever since the days of Vasari have been honored with the name of Giotto, an attribution in no way sustained by their artistic qualities, and unanimously rejected by modern historians of art. The connection between these pictures and Taddeo's frescoes in the Baroncelli Chapel is so obvious that it hardly needs to be pointed out in detail. A comparison between the small Nativity and the Shepherds Receiving the Angels' Message in the Baroncelli fresco is sufficient to prove unquestionably the identity of the master. Nor can any long time have elapsed between the execution of these works; the small panels are perhaps a little earlier — they reveal more of the style of the Giotto *bottega* — but the difference in time can hardly have exceeded three or four years.

To the same early period of Taddeo's activity must be assigned a little triptych (Pl. 128) belonging to Mr. Frank L. Babbott of Brooklyn, N.Y. It is one of Taddeo's most attractive and decorative works. The composition is the same as in a number of small portable altars by Bernardo Daddi and other contemporaries. On the central panel the Madonna is presented enthroned in a Gothic chair with a high back. On both sides stand rows of saints. The wings show the Nativity and the Crucifixion, and above, the Annunciation. The

small size of the triptych, the distribution of the subjects and the miniature elegance of the style, so vividly recall Bernardo Daddi's small altarpieces that this picture has been ascribed, even by prominent critics, to Bernardo. It shows, however, fundamental divergences from Bernardo's style, and decisive resemblances to Taddeo's. Of the greatest importance in this respect is the very feeble space composition of the central panel. The throne of the Madonna stands so close to the foreground that there is not room in front of it for more than one saint on each side, and of the other figures, who are arranged in rows up on the background, we see very little. They stand seven or eight deep; of the two foremost the heads are visible, of the rest only the haloes appear, like plates stacked up behind each other. These figures are entirely imaginary. The artist has given no suggestion of their positions, or of their bodily reality. The effect is decorative in an ornamental sense but has no plastic value.

Bernardo Daddi, in similar cases, always took care to let the figures round the Madonna appear with relatively good, bodily volume; not only the foremost but those behind are detached from the background and modeled with soft interplay of light and shade, thus forming a ring round the Madonna's throne, which appears isolated in space. Taddeo did not feel the need of any such mode of representation, he did not understand the importance of an isolating space for the decorative effect, and he was not under the inspiration of the Sienese models which Bernardo Daddi followed. His composition has therefore remained flatter, more on the surface, although in other respects it closely conforms to Bernardo's small Madonna pictures from the early thirties.

Of the scenes on the wings, the Nativity is the more interesting; it shows a rather picturesque variation of the old iconographical motif. The Crucifixion consists merely of Christ on a lofty cross, with the Virgin and St. John standing beneath. In the Nativity the artist has placed Mary in front of the crib, half-reclining, in a rather naturalistic pose: she leans on her elbow and lifts one knee in a way which recalls the Baroncelli shepherds. Joseph sits sleeping, and a shepherd on the mountain behind the shed listens to the message of the angels who soar in the air. The subdued coloring suggests the night effect. This composition shows more originality than the central picture; the dependence on Giotto and Bernardo is less evident. It is the types, especially, which prove that it was Taddeo who painted this triptych. We recognize the large, full oval, with eyes far apart and straight nose, from the small pictures in the Accademia.

A comparison between the throned Madonna and the kneeling mother in the small Nativity is most illuminating. The faces are cast in the same form, the bodies have the same proportions. The child in the triptych is unusually entertaining, represented as he is in full paradise costume. He is a miniature of the same elderly *bambino* with a big head who appears in the Adoration of the Magi in the Baroncelli Chapel. The angels in the foreground further assert, by their types and their rectangular forms, the authorship of Taddeo. It must, however, be emphasized that the triptych diverges from most of Taddeo's work in its careful almost miniature-like drawing and execution. It seems almost as if Taddeo had painted this picture in direct competition with Bernardo Daddi, who as we know excelled in such small cabinet pieces, and it is at least evident that Taddeo was entirely familiar with certain works of his older contemporary, and that in this case he has made a special effort to free himself from his usual, broad fresco manner in order to do a picture which in elegance and nicety could be compared to Bernardo's.

Taddeo's dependence on Bernardo Daddi at the beginning of the thirties is made still more evident by another work, a little triptych in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, dated 1334 (Pl. 129). This is simply a somewhat cruder copy of Bernardo's small domestic altar in the Bigallo in Florence, dated 1333. Taddeo has minutely followed Bernardo's compositional scheme. He has represented the Madonna seated under a Gothic tabernacle, with a pair of donors kneeling at her feet, and fourteen saints in an arched band running round the picture. On the wings (Pl. 130) are the Nativity, the Crucifixion, and the legend of St. Nicholas saving the little Adeodatus, in just the same forms that Bernardo used in the preceding year. But in spite of his close imitation of the model, he has not attained the good space composition which characterizes Bernardo's picture. He has made the figures larger and more uncouth; he has not raised the Madonna's throne on a platform or created free space in front of it, and he has not drawn it with the same depth. Furthermore he has made the framing columns and profiles much heavier. In consequence of all these modifications and inconspicuous alterations, the decorative effect has been much impaired. The telling spaciousness and flexible elegance which are characteristic of Bernardo have been replaced by clumsy broadness and heaviness, testifying that Taddeo was better trained as a fresco painter than as a maker of small cabinet pieces. The difference between the Berlin altarpiece and Mr. Babbott's is considerable, indicating an interval of several years

between the two. It seems as though Taddeo had gradually lost interest in small panel pictures and their sober technique. The Berlin picture is, however, the feeblest of all Taddeo's altarpieces, especially in regard to space design.

In two other pictures of the same kind he has solved the same problem more successfully. In a little domestic altarpiece belonging to the Museum at Strassburg (Pl. 131) the enthroned Madonna, surrounded by saints, is rather well isolated in an enclosed space composition. The throne is here raised on a platform and set some distance back, as in Bernardo Daddi. Besides the kneeling donors, there are in the foreground four saints, placed in pairs on either side of the throne, and further back two more saints and six angels arranged in corresponding groups. All these figures are represented with relatively good, plastic form and seem to be actually on the same plane as the steps of the throne. The figures are stiff and wooden, as in Taddeo's frescoes, but they have more independent existence as tridimensional beings than in many of the artist's other works.

In a little Madonna belonging to the collection of the Historical Society in New York (Pl. 131), the saints at the sides have gained still more significance. They are now drawn in almost the same scale as the Madonna and enclose the throne like a compact wall. The impression of depth is weak, but between the foremost pair of saints there opens a really free space. The composition is ponderous, not without a certain monumental breadth.

The improved space composition of these two small, domestic altars gives us reason to assume that they were painted some years after the little triptych in Berlin. This assumption is supported by another small Madonna triptych belonging to the museum at Naples, dated 1336, two years later than the Berlin picture. The central panel of this triptych shows the Virgin enthroned between St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Anthony, and a bishop; on the wings are represented the Annunciation, the Baptism of Christ and the Deposition from the Cross. The figures are rather short and heavy, particularly in the central piece, and there is hardly any attempt at space composition. But in the Baptism of Christ one notices again Taddeo's power of evoking a tone of intimacy; also a rather skilful arrangement of the three figures, Christ, St. John, and the kneeling angel, within the narrow space. The whole picture is in some respects different from those described above, but it is evidently by Taddeo, and owing to its space composition it must be regarded as a connecting link between the triptych in Berlin and those in Strassburg and New York.

A little, portable altarpiece of the same type as these belonged to the collection of Marchese Bartolini Salimbeni in Florence, which was dispersed a few years ago. The picture showed in the middle a Crucifixion with several figures at the foot of the cross, and in the wing a Madonna and scenes from the lives of St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist.

In connection with the small Madonnas should be mentioned a little picture of the Nativity (Pl. 133) in the Museum at Dijon. It is interesting as evidence of Taddeo's inclination toward landscape painting. The scene is an open sweep of mountains; on the right sits Mary under a shed, lifting the child out of the crib, while Joseph sleeps with his head in his hands. On the left two shepherds are approaching. All these figures are comparatively heavy and stiff, as usual, but they are set in a landscape with monumental lines and atmospheric gradations showing a keen sense of natural light effects. The picture has in concentrated form what we have already observed in some of the Baroncelli frescoes and Campo Santo paintings; an attempt at broad representation of nature and a realization of the atmospheric value of lighting, in advance of anything approached by other painters of the period. Taddeo never became a really great figure painter, and in that respect he usually appears weak and unsatisfactory in comparison with his Florentine contemporaries — but he did introduce important new elements in the observation of nature, and struck a note unknown in the solemn hymn music of the older artists.

The larger altarpieces which Taddeo painted offer, as a rule, less opportunity for naturalistic treatment than the small pictures, in which narrative scenes are usually included. The big panels consist of hieratically arranged saints on both sides of an enthroned Madonna. Their artistic value must be sought chiefly in the decorative patterns of the individual saints and their significance as plastic or linear creations. Taddeo painted several such altarpieces at various periods of his protracted activity. The earliest show the same full-faced types and thickset figures as the smaller pictures and must therefore be classed in the same group. One of them, presenting the Madonna between Saint Margaret and Saint Justina (Pl. 132), is in San Martino a Mensola, outside Florence. The Virgin is represented in almost full face, sitting on a broad, Gothic, marble throne, and the two saints stand turned half inward. The bodies are unusually full, drawn with soft rounding of the contours. The cheeks are puffed, so that the eyes are hardly more than little creases;

the noses are very flat, and the mouths extremely small. The mantles are wide with heavy folds, contributing to the rounding out of the forms but not disclosing the structure of the bodies. The three predella scenes — Christ Entombed, between two donors, the Annunciation, and the Martyrdom of St. Margaret — have probably been somewhat mutilated. The picture was removed from its original, Gothic frame at the end of the fifteenth century and altered to rectangular shape, additional figures were added between the triangular gables, and the whole was set into a Quattrocento tabernacle.

Strangely enough, a similar change was made in another altar picture by Taddeo, related in style to the altarpiece in San Martino a Mensola. This painting, which formerly belonged to the Gallidunn collection at Poggibonsi, is now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The composition (Pl. 132) is something like the one just described: the Madonna sits on a wide, marble throne, holding the restless *bambino* in a half-reclining position on her left knee; but on each side a saint is added: on the left, St. John the Baptist and St. Lawrence; on the right, St. James and St. Stephen. The pilasters that separate the saints were painted in the fifteenth century, and at the same period prophets were added to fill the spaces between the Gothic arches — very much the same scheme that we have seen in the San Martino altarpiece. The whole has been enclosed in a heavy and richly ornamented Quattrocento tabernacle. Such a Renaissance transformation, entirely removing the pinnacles and finials of the Gothic polyptych, and compressing the originally soaring composition under a heavy horizontal, naturally detracted from the decorative effect. The main figures, however, remain unmodified.

There is in existence an odd example of a still more complete Quattrocento metamorphosis of a painting by Taddeo. It is a fresco painting transferred to the cloister of St. Mark's in Florence, representing an enthroned Madonna between St. Nicholas and St. Michael. The composition, the throne, and the face of the Madonna are probably Taddeo's work, but the lower portion of the Madonna, the child, and the saints have been completely repainted toward the end of the fifteenth century, presumably by Sebastiano Mainardi. He has impressed his characteristic types on the saints. The picture has the effect of a disguised Trecento Madonna, and furnishes the most eloquent testimony of the unscrupulous attitude of the Renaissance in the matter of restoration and renovation. Another large Madonna

by Taddeo, much restored, is painted *al fresco* high upon the wall of the entrance hall of the Bargello in Florence.

The most important of Taddeo's later altar pictures, dating from the fifties, is the big *ancona* in San Giovanni Fuoricivitas in Pistoja (Pl. 133), which he executed in 1353. The Madonna is here surrounded by four free-standing saints (Peter, John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, and James); above her is represented the Annunciation, and over the saints are pairs of prophets in half-length. The figures are noticeably thinner and more limber than in the altarpieces previously described, the draperies seem to be rather softer and more floating, the faces smaller, but one cannot discern any deeper spiritual conception or any new grasp of the principles of composition. The Madonna sits in the same rigid attitude, holding the child insecurely on her left knee, as in the earlier altarpieces. She merely has a slighter figure and more gorgeously ornamented clothes. It seems to have come naturally to Taddeo to repeat the same stereotyped Madonna: he had no artistic ambition urging him to recast the traditional elements of his compositions.

The same representation of Mary, the child, and saints recurs in the big altar picture in the church of Santa Felicità in Florence (Pl. 134). The only difference is that the saints have changed places or names, and that four little, kneeling angels have been added in front of the Madonna's throne.

An independent Madonna (Pl. 135) of large size, which unquestionably must be described as one of Taddeo's most beautiful and attractive pictures has lately been transferred from the Accademia at Siena to the Uffizi. According to the inscription, this was painted in 1355 for Giovanni di Ser Segnia à Megognano (near Poggibonsi). The Madonna sits on a rather high Gothic throne; on either side stand angels, holding the heavenly crown and jar of ointment, and in the foreground kneel four others with vases of flowers and censers. The solemnly decorative character of the composition is substantially increased by the deep and luminous coloring. The Madonna wears a garment of gold brocade and a deep blue mantle. The angels on either side of her are in carmine, and those kneeling in front in white. The carpet before the throne is cinnabar red. The whole color scheme has a luminous intensity, a glow that far exceeds anything one can find in Taddeo's other surviving pictures. One here fully understands Vasari's verdict, that Taddeo surpassed his master Giotto as a colorist. The strongly intensified harmony of color in this work of Taddeo's is in all probability due to Siennese influence.

There are in addition a number of other panels but they contribute very little that is new to an estimate of his artistic manner and ability — which is not very versatile or many-sided. I shall refer only to the big crucifix (Pl. 136) in San Giorgio a Ruballa, near Florence, and the Pietà in the Jarves collection at New Haven. The rather massive dignity and *pondus* with which Taddeo sometimes contrived to endow his figures is demonstrated fairly well in the dead Christ, but the artist has produced no deeper impression of pain or of life ebbing to extinction.

According to Vasari, Taddeo was called to Arezzo and Casentino, and in the castles near there executed frescoes with the assistance of Jacopo dal Casentino. In the picturesque mediaeval Castello del Poppi there remain a number of fragments of frescoes (Pl. 137) which may possibly be partly by Taddeo, partly by his pupils. In the old chapel of the castle there are two scenes from the life of Mary: Christ Presented in the Temple, and the Death of the Virgin; two scenes from the life of the Baptist: St. John Preaching, and Herod's Feast; and two scenes from the life of St. John the Evangelist: the Raising of Drusiana, and the Translation of St. John.

The paintings are, as we have said, rather uneven and worn in places, but they include parts which are still attractive owing to their character as literal illustrations of legend. This holds true especially in the representation of Salome's dance with its nobly costumed dames and portly mandolin players. It is now difficult to state with any certainty how much work Taddeo himself did at Castello del Poppi; the figures seem, in general, rather thinner and frailer than in Taddeo's frescoes, but his school and his general characteristics of style are none the less recognizable. The sleepy faces and stocky figures attest the tradition. It is primarily as the founder of a new tradition of style among the Florentine Trecento artists that Taddeo deserves a more thorough study. His historical importance is, after all, greater than his personal contribution to the development of art. He diverges from the central and most artistically significant elements in Giotto's style and wanders into byways which lead off from the main problem of painting — the creation of significant form — toward narration and the illustrative representation of nature. And in this direction he was followed by most of the later painters of the Trecento.

X

BERNARDO DADDI

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BERNARDO DADDI is an artist who in the last ten years has attained considerable fame. His small altarpieces, so suitable for private collections, have been brought to light one after another, and it has been discovered that the artist is one of the most attractive and appealing of the earlier Florentine Trecento painters. He is the more interesting because he inaugurates an essentially new movement in this epoch of Florentine art.

Vasari made one of his most serious mistakes when he placed Bernardo among the pupils of Spinello Aretino. Bernardo Daddi was really somewhat older than Taddeo Gaddi for he seems to have flourished in the thirties and forties. In a certain sense, however, he may be said to represent a more modern tendency than Taddeo's. Bernardo established closer contact with contemporary Siennese art than any other Florentine, and received therefrom impulses which in several respects led him over the boundaries of strictly Giottesque painting. The subsequent development of the Florentine Trecento depended almost as much on the new impetus from Siena as on the fundamental principles of Giotto's art. In this connection Bernardo Daddi must be accorded a prominent place in the history of Florentine painting.

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We are able to establish the following dates in Bernardo's life: he is twice named in the records of the "Arte dei Medici e Speziali," first about in the middle of the third register, which covers the period from 1312-20 (probably about 1317), and again in the register that runs from 1320 to 1353. In 1335 Bernardo bought a third share of a property on the Via Larga in Florence and in the same year he executed an altar picture for the Cappella di San Bernardo in the Palazzo Publico in Florence. In 1338 he did a picture showing three Dominican saints for a chapel in Santa Maria Novella. Both these pictures have been lost.

Probably the most important notice of Bernardo's life and activity which has been preserved to posterity is that which deals with his share in the foundation of the Compagnia di San Luca, a corporation

of the painters of Florence under the protection of St. Luke. The date of this foundation is generally given as 1349, but this is due to a misreading of the register; the event took place in 1339. In the same year Bernardo appears as a witness of a death in Florence. During the financial year of 1346-47 his name occurs three times in the books of the Compagnia di Or San Michele; he was being paid for a picture for the high altar in the church of the same name. The next year, 1348, are recorded the death of Bernardo and the appointment of guardians for his two minor sons, Daddo and Francesco. These facts, which render untenable the assumption formerly accepted, that Bernardo lived till the middle fifties,¹ are derived from a notary's minutes in the National Archives of Florence, according to a copy provided by the late Herbert P. Horne in 1906. The minutes appear among the papers of the notary Francesco di Ser Giovanni Ciai da Pulicciano, and are dated August 18, 1348. The heading reads, "Tutela Daddi et Francisci condam Bernardi." First, the two witnesses are named, Ser Currado de Bartoli and Buonacorsa de Beni, "populi Sancte Reparate." Then it is recounted that "Thomasius filius condam Bernardi Daddi, pictoris populi Sancti Laurentii de Florentia, adultus," affirmed in the presence of the judge that his father had died without leaving any testamentary disposition regarding his two minor sons, Daddo and Francesco. The judge, Simone di Ser Geremia de Soli, consequently appointed as guardian of the two boys "Benivieni condam Bambi populi Sancti Laurentii de Florentia, viri et mariti domine Lise amite ipsorum pupillorum." The document further contains tedious admonitions to the guardian and juridical stipulations of his obligations and responsibility, which contribute no more information as to the circumstances of Bernardo Daddi's family.

This document is of interest as evidence that Bernardo Daddi was married and had three sons, one of whom was of age at his father's death, and the other two minors. Of these last, one, Daddo di Bernardo, was inscribed among the "Medici e Speziali" in 1358. Whether the others were active as painters we do not know, but it is natural to assume that they assisted in their father's workshop. The family's financial standing, it appears, was good, for we find no mention of insufficient provision for the maintenance of the sons, and there are instructions for taking an inventory of the artist's chattels. Bernardo had evidently contrived to make his artistic endowments pay.

¹ Cf. Vitzthum, *Bernardo Daddi* (1903) and Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, v, 508.

If we venture to draw conclusions as to Bernardo's personality from these scanty notices, together with his paintings, we get the impression that Bernardo was an indefatigable and painstaking worker, intelligent and alert, but without any very strong individuality. He had no apparent ambition to compete with Giotto in the creation of great monumental paintings; he limited himself almost entirely to smaller tasks, but within these bounds he attained a higher level of relative perfection than any other Florentine painter of his time.

BERNARDO'S PRINCIPAL PAINTINGS

THREE pictures with the signature "BERNARDUS DE FLORENTIA" form the groundwork of the bounteous production attributable to this artist; the earliest bears the date 1328, the latest 1348 — the year of Bernardo's death. We have every reason to assume that "Bernardus de Florentia" is identical with Bernardo Daddi, for no other painter named Bernardo living at that period is mentioned by the older authorities, and the works which may be grouped round the pictures of "Bernardus de Florentia" obviously belong to an artist of unusual power and popularity. The identity of the two Bernardo's is further proved by the altarpiece in Or San Michele: there is documentary evidence that it was executed by Bernardo Daddi, and it closely corresponds in style (although it has been seriously disfigured by repainting) to the works signed by Bernardus de Florentia.

We may take for granted that the picture dated 1328 is not Bernardo's earliest work — he had presumably been active as an independent painter for at least ten years — but as it bears the earliest date we shall consider it first. This altarpiece (Pl. 138), which has been transferred from the church of Ognissanti to the Uffizi, bears the following inscription: "ANNO DÑI MCCCXXVIII FR NICHOLAUS DE MAZINGHIS DE CAMPI ME FIERI FECIT P. REMEDIO ANIME MATRIS ET FRATRUM. BERNARDUS DE FLORENTIA ME PINXIT." It represents the Madonna between St. Nicholas and St. Matthew, all three in half-length, placed on panels of unequal size, separated by slender columns. In the gables over the Gothic arches are inserted in three medallions Christ and two angels in half-length. The composition is the same which prevails throughout the whole fourteenth century in triptychs with half-length figures, but the arrangement is remarkably stiff. There is no trace of any connection between the figures; they are presented in isolation, almost like colored statues against the gold ground. The modeling is hard and angular, the drawing is dominated by rigorous verticals, so that the figures look almost like rectangles. The faces are relatively long; the noses are at a marked salient to the straight foreheads, the eyes are very narrow and extend out towards the temples, the ears are large and set far back. The doll-like child on his mother's arm testifies to the artist's inadequate study of nature. He seems to have taken more interest in rhythmic line composition than in naturalistic realism of

detail. Compared with some of Taddeo Gaddi's paintings, this picture seems stiff and archaic, but we must none the less grant that the decorative rhythm of line is more completely worked out than in any of Taddeo's pictures. The beauty of color has been entirely lost on account of the careless cleaning.

The same style and scheme of composition is repeated in other altarpieces, executed soon after the first. One of these, kept in the Stanza del Ispettore in the Accademia in Florence, shows the Madonna between St. Nicholas, St. Benedict, St. John the Baptist, and St. John the Evangelist. It bears the inscription: "FACTA AL TEMPO DI MADONNA GRAZIA PRIMA ABATISSA MCCCXXXIII. RIFACTA AL TEMPO DI MADONNA BRIGIDA DE RIDOLFI MCCCCXXX." The sixteenth-century repainting greatly modified the decorative effect, particularly as medallions were added between the gables and the whole made into a rectangular shape, but the figure style remains plain. The Madonna and the saints are arranged in the same way as in the previous instance — they are all turned in half-profile and the forms have the same squareness and accentuation of verticals that we have pointed out before.

Another picture (Pl. 138) similarly composed belongs to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin. Here the Madonna is between St. Salvinus and St. Benedict. It is in a good state of preservation, but unsigned; at the end of the fourteenth century a predella was added, evidently painted by Bicci di Lorenzo, illustrating three scenes from the life of Christ. The placing of the figures in half-profile and the sharply defined silhouette effect are on the whole in accord with what we have already seen, but the forms are somewhat fuller and a certain naturalistic interest is expressed in the child, who is patting his mother under the chin. On account of this difference we are inclined to put the date of the picture forward to the middle thirties.

This triptych is further noteworthy for its clear and brilliant coloring, which we have had no opportunity to notice in the earlier pictures. The Madonna wears an amethyst-colored garment and a deep blue mantle (which has suffered from repainting); the bishops have embroidered mantles of cinnabar red and olive green. The ornamental lettering of the haloes was evidently supplied in course of restoration at the end of the fourteenth century. It is rare that one finds in Florentine paintings of the first half of that century such luminous and harmonious coloring. The artist evidently had a pronounced talent for color and an interest in its decorative value very different from what we find, for instance, in Giotto. His forms

are not cast in a block-like, monumental mold, but are distinguished by a certain angularity and lack of breadth. We can scarcely count Bernardo among the immediate pupils of Giotto; he was clearly more independent of the master than a Taddeo Gaddi or a Puccio Capanna.

Another group of Bernardo's work can conveniently be formed round the little signed Madonna (Pl. 139) in the Accademia in Florence, a picture of very small dimensions, once probably the middle panel of a little domestic altarpiece. The picture bears the following inscription: "NOMINE BERNARDUS DE FLORENTIA PINXIT H. OP. ANNO DOM. MCCCXXXII. . . ." The last numerals of the date are no longer legible; it is possible that it originally read "1333" or "1334." The Madonna is here shown sitting on a niched Gothic throne placed on a platform, approached by two steps, and set a little back into the picture. On each side of the throne stand two pairs of angels, and before the steps are St. Peter and St. Paul. The arrangement is notably clear and spacious. Before the throne there is a significant free space, and the graceful little figures, cleverly arranged in three rows, one behind the other, are not fastened either to the background or to each other in any such manner as, for instance, in the Madonna by Giotto in the same collection. A slight variation in the attitudes and gestures of the two foremost pairs of angels strengthens the impression of space and freedom of movement; the artist has evidently aimed at a different goal than in the stiff altarpieces we have hitherto seen. He has tried to create a tridimensional space composition, with a certain amount of movement and emotional relation between the figures. Notice particularly how the child turns toward the angels. The picture hence derives a more intimate and naturalistic tone, and has an idyllic charm rather unusual in Florentine Trecento art.

There are several paintings by Bernardo of the same fundamental character; they form, in fact, the most numerous group of his works. They were usually made for small domestic or portable altarpieces of two or three leaves. The demand for these was apparently very great in the earlier part of the fourteenth century, and it seems that Bernardo and his assistants developed the specialty more than other contemporary masters. They acquired a dexterity at this small-scale work comparable to that which became the ambition of later cabinet painters, and it is this very quality which sets them apart from the broader, monumental expression in fresco technique which absorbed most of the energies of the Florentine painters of the century.

One of the earliest small Madonnas of this type (Pl. 139) belonged to the Sterbini collection in Rome. The Virgin is there seated on a Gothic throne with a flat back. Two steps lead up to the throne, which is thus again set into the picture, but the effect of depth is not as fully developed as in the Accademia Madonna. On either side of the throne stand two angels, and in front of them, on a lower level, four saints, arranged in pairs. The child stands on his mother's knee and grasps her round the neck with both arms. This gives the tone of intimacy, but the figures are somewhat stiffer than in the preceding picture. The forms are tender and graceful, and well rounded, almost as though modeled in wax; the faces are narrow and long with sharply salient noses and narrow eyes. It is not hard to recognize the same types as in the larger altarpieces, only they have become frailer and finer, executed as they are in a delicate, almost miniature technique. The artist has devoted endless pains to the finishing of the little faces and to the delicate, gold ornaments on the borders of the mantles and on the texture draped over the back of the throne. The rhythm of line is again dominated by strong verticals, which are here more striking than in the previous picture because the effect of depth is less developed. We have reason to assume that the picture was executed earlier than the little Accademia Madonna; its relatively severe, linear style connects it with the big triptych of the year 1328 in the Uffizi.

Practically the same Madonna (Pl. 140) recurs in a little diptych in the Horne collection in Florence. The Madonna is there placed beside a Crucifixion, which we can more conveniently study in connection with several similar compositions by Bernardo. The mother and child are the same figures as in the Sterbini picture, but even more intimately related. Affectionate familiarity is indicated by the way the child hugs his mother while she in return presses him against her cheek. The angels are omitted; on either side of the throne stands a saint, and two more saints are, as usual, placed nearer in the foreground. The effect of depth is about the same as in the previous case, but the composition appears more spacious because it includes fewer figures. The forms are better filled out and the predominance of verticals is not quite as marked as in the Sterbini Madonna. The picture is crowned by an *arc mixtiligne*, consisting of an ogee superimposed on a broken, rounded arch — a form hardly beneficial to the decorative impression; its sumptuous curves hang heavy over the delicate figures.

The same arch is repeated over a little Madonna (Pl. 141) in the Naples Museum, which in other ways also is closely related to the

Horne picture. The Madonna sits on a throne of the same simple shape that we have seen in the two previous panels, and on either side stand two saints. The child stands on his mother's knee, grasping her neck-band with one hand and stroking her chin with the other. The variations are comparatively unimportant, the same lyric tenderness animates the picture, and no formal development is noticeable. The only thing really worth special attention is the sonorous harmony of color. Mary is dressed in a deep red mantle, the child wrapped in a green coverlet; the saints wear black, white, green, and red robes. Bernardo's coloring here shows still greater strength and originality than in the earlier work.

A brighter color effect, partly due to excessive cleaning, is displayed by a little triptych (Pl. 141) in the Bigallo collection in Florence. This piece is of special interest, partly because it is completely preserved (the wings are painted on both sides) and partly because it is dated 1333, and therefore precedes by a year Taddeo Gaddi's little triptych in Berlin, which shows nearly the same composition. Bernardo's work has obviously served as a model for Taddeo. In the middle panel is the Madonna, seated on a broad, Gothic throne, raised on a platform and set back a considerable distance into the picture, very much as in the Accademia Madonna. Before the throne kneel two donors, man and wife, who probably ordered this altarpiece on the occasion of a son's journey to foreign parts, for in the wings is represented, among other things, the legend of St. Nicholas rescuing the little Adeodatus. The saints usually placed round the throne are here relegated to a narrow band running outside the frame of the central panel; they are ranged in a row on the surface, one above the other, as there is no opportunity for space composition. To replace the saints at the sides, the artist has elaborated the niche-shaped back and finial-crowned wings of the throne, so that it takes almost the character of an *aedicula* enshrining the Madonna. It has evidently been his aim to create an enclosed space round the central figure, and he has drawn the seat of the throne with exaggerated foreshortening. It is very wide in front and rapidly narrows toward the back, and as the Madonna's mantle is spread out over the broad front, the effect of the figure is disproportionately wide and heavy. The modeling has suffered in restoration. Mary's type is entirely identical with that of the Naples Madonna, and the child is the same playful *bambino*: he stretches his arms toward his mother's face, as he stands on her knee, as though to caress her, but he does not quite reach her. It is the

same attempt to impart to the Madonna an air of natural intimacy that we know from earlier pictures.

In style, this picture falls into place between the Madonnas in the Horne collection and the Naples Museum and the later one in the Accademia at Florence. The space composition indicates an advance on the former, but is not as successfully and unaffectedly solved as in the little Accademia picture, in which the surrounding angels and saints are placed with almost astonishing precision.

The Accademia Madonna is from the formal point of view the maturest of all the work we have considered, and it is also the one that most clearly demonstrates the origin of Bernardo's innovations in composition. The connection with Giotto's work is even weaker in these pictures than in the larger altarpieces. The gracefully flexible design is entirely unlike the sculptural modeling developed by Giotto, while the pronounced effort to create enclosed space composition is also fundamentally divergent from Giotto's more relief-like method. In both respects Bernardo's paintings stand much nearer to the creations of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The closest correspondence in composition that we can find is in Ambrogio's little Madonna in the Accademia in Siena, where the central figure is enclosed by the arrangement of the surrounding saints, particularly those kneeling in the foreground. The harmony of color, also, has the same deep resonance as in Bernardo's work, but the emotional tone has a pathos which Bernardo scarcely approaches.

Bernardo certainly had opportunity to see a considerable quantity of Ambrogio's work, and he received a strong impression of the Sienese master's mature power of representation, especially his superior solution of the pictorial problem of space and his singing color scale, but Bernardo was not the man to appreciate fully Ambrogio's dramatic temperament. We shall have occasion in what follows to compare more closely the work of Ambrogio and Bernardo, so for the present we shall merely recall that Ambrogio was living in Florence between 1332 and 1334, that is to say, just at the time when Bernardo was completing several of his small Madonnas. It is manifest that Bernardo came into direct contact with the great Sienese painter during these years and received impulses which retained momentum throughout his activity, but it is probable that he later saw still more of Ambrogio's work — the Sienese influence becomes more preponderant as the years go by. There will be an

opportunity to inquire further into this when we attempt a complete diagnosis of the artistic derivation of Bernardo's style.

Besides the little Madonnas already mentioned, there deserve notice two small pictures (Pl. 142), one of them belonging to the Vatican collection, the other to the New York Historical Society. The compositions are both comparatively simple. In the former the Madonna is shown unattended, and the saints are isolated in the wing panels; in the latter she is surrounded by three angels on either side, placed one above the other without any attempt at space. The picture in the Vatican has been carelessly restored and changed in shape, but the Madonna has none the less a delicate, individual charm, thanks to the intimate relation of mother and child. The color effect here as in the Naples picture is dominated by the Virgin's deep red mantle. The New York Madonna, on the other hand, is remarkably well preserved, and appeals to us above all on account of the lovable child who stands on his mother's knee and reaches out to take a bird from one of the attendant angels. This picture forms part of a diptych, representing in the other half a much abbreviated Last Judgment. The common characteristics of these pictures are the placing of the throne in the foreground and the unusual size of the figures in relation to the surface of the picture. These particulars might lead us to assume that both works belong to Bernardo's earliest period, but the good proportions and modeling of the figures and the free drawing of the playful *bambino* make it difficult to reckon them as more youthful work than the other pictures we have studied.

This group of early, domestic altarpieces could possibly be extended by the inclusion of one or two more triptychs, among them a particularly fine one (Pl. 143) now in a private collection in Stockholm, representing the enthroned Madonna between four angels, two saints, and two kneeling donors. On the wings are the Crucifixion and St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata. The color effect is unusually pleasing because of its excellent preservation.

The approximate limit to the period we have hitherto considered may be set by a little Madonna triptych (Pl. 144) in the Accademia in Siena, dated 1336. The picture is considerably worn, but it is interesting because it brings out the artist's endeavor to attain unified space composition in a characteristic manner. The Madonna is shown in full front, sitting on a throne raised on a platform and set a little back. On either side of the throne stands a band of worshipping angels, and in the foreground, one on each side of the empty

space, are two saints. The lines are predominantly vertical; the whole is a firmly built composition so constructed that exactly those formal elements which we have previously emphasized are most conspicuous. The pictures in the wings show the Nativity and the Crucifixion, and the story of St. Nicholas saving the little Adeodatus.

As we have already remarked, there are several small Madonnas, in triptychs or domestic altars, which illustrate in the wings scenes from the life of Christ — usually the Nativity and the Crucifixion. Some of these little narrative pictures are artistically interesting, but they do not form as complete a series as the Madonnas and offer less substantial material for the study of Bernardo's development. We may therefore pass over them more hastily.

The Nativity is shown on the wings of the little altarpieces in the Bigallo collection (Pl. 145), in the Accademia at Siena, and in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin. (The last-named picture represents the coronation of the Virgin in the central panel.) The composition is practically the same in all three pictures: the scene is on a rocky height built up in steps. Mary sits on the ledge with the child on her knees; Joseph sits dreaming on a lower shelf, in the foreground; still lower down, in a corner, stand the shepherds and their flocks. Behind Mary, higher up on the mountain-side, stands the cradle under a shed, and round it cluster the adoring angels. The rock usually rises up to a point back of the shed, so that only a fragment of golden ground is left visible. There is a rather good effect of depth, owing to the indication of successive vertical planes by the ledges in the rock, and the placing of the different figures. But the pictures are stiff and the figures lack connection.

An interesting development of the Nativity theme is to be found in one of the wings of a triptych (Pl. 146) belonging to Julius Böhler in Munich. The middle picture, which shows the Crucifixion, bears the date 1338, and is therefore somewhat later than the works we have so far studied. The scene is the same rocky ground divided into steps, but the Virgin is not sitting in the traditional attitude with the child in her lap: she kneels beside the crib, laying the child in his bed. Motherly tenderness is expressed in the natural movement. The representation, released from the conventional scheme, appeals to us by its idyllic tone.

In some of these small triptychs, as a pendant to the Nativity, there is on the other wing a Crucifixion, a subject also occurring in several separate pictures which probably once formed parts of small altarpieces. Two main types may be distinguished among these

relatively numerous Crucifixions: one with only a few figures, and the other with a number of personages at the foot of the cross. The first class is best exemplified in the triptychs in the Bigallo collection and in the Siena Accademia, where Mary and John stand alone, except for one kneeling saint, at the foot of the cross. The same composition is repeated in various later pictures, one for instance, in the Blumenthal collection, New York (Pl. 148). The older type of composition, distinguished by a multitude of spectators gathered round the foot of the cross, is the more usual in Bernardo's earlier paintings. We find it, for instance, in Horne's little diptych, in a picture in the Accademia in Florence, and in a third (Pl. 147) belonging to Mr. D. F. Platt of Englewood, N. J. The composition of these three is approximately the same. The figures are divided into two groups: to the left, Christ's relatives with the fainting Mary; to the right, the Jews led by Longinus, proclaiming his faith with uplifted arm; and nearest to the cross, the kneeling Magdalen. In the dainty little side piece of the triptych in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Pl. 149) some mounted men are added to the groups. The effect is fuller and richer, but the space composition is none the better. The figures in all these pictures are crowded together in the foreground and stand out directly against the abstract golden ground; those at the back thus lose almost all corporeality and seem to be nothing more than heads rising above those in front. The figure of Christ is doll-like, slender, and gaunt, with arms almost like strings. The artist has treated the subject entirely from the decorative point of view with no deeper feeling for its dramatic importance. Strong emotional expression is notably lacking in Bernardo's art; he interests us chiefly because of his pure technique, his fine decorative feeling, and his skill in space composition.

An especially characteristic example of Bernardo's attempt to produce an effect of depth and arrange his figures in a unified space composition is furnished by the middle panel of the little triptych (Pl. 149) in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, showing the coronation of the Virgin. The two main figures, Mary and Christ, are placed on a hexagonal throne under a canopy of the same shape. The throne is raised unusually high in the picture, and before it spread out wide steps and a free floor space, enclosed by half-circles of standing saints and kneeling angels in double rows. These living walls terminate behind the throne, where they are completed by floating seraphim. The deep throne therefore stands out free as in the middle of a room, and owing to the perspective of the can-

opy and the depth of the niche, Christ and Mary are given full bodily volume. In order to make evident the extension of the foreground, the artist has given two of the kneeling angels long trumpets, which stretch inward in the direction of the depth diagonals. The composition is dominated by an interest in space construction which threatens to convert it into a mere architectural design.

The same strict principles of composition also mark Bernardo's frescoes in Santa Croce, in Florence. These paintings, which decorate the Cappella Pulci, dedicated to St. Lawrence and St. Stephen, are mentioned by Vasari as Bernardo Daddi's work. Critical examination of style here entirely confirms Vasari's attribution. There now remain only two large paintings, and a few separate figures of saints in the entrance arch. The frescoes have suffered from restoration, but the characteristic principles of composition none the less remain evident. On one wall is shown Stephen before the judge (Pl. 150), and the stoning; on the other, the martyrdom of St. Lawrence (Pl. 151). The chief problem was in each case to present the figures standing free in space and acting on a stage that has independent existence. In the Stoning, for instance, we see St. Stephen kneeling, surrounded by four figures which clearly mark the four corners of a square horizontal plane, turned with one angle pointing outward. The figure which should indicate the first corner is set back a little so as not to hide the saint, and instead a mantle is placed at the exact point of the angle. The three other figures are executioners, who lift their arms to hurl stones at the kneeling martyr; their movements emphasize the direction of the two depth diagonals. The constructive design could not be made more obvious. The space composition has evidently interested the artist far more than the characterization of the figures or the dramatic import of the scene.

In the other half of the same painting — showing Stephen in the presence of the judge — the chief movement of the figures follows the relief plane. The judge sits on an elevated throne in the left corner of the picture, pointing with outstretched arm toward Stephen, who stands at the opposite end of the composition, looking upward, with raised hand. The transition or connection between these two leading figures is made by two men, of whom the former, seen from behind, turns and pushes Stephen by the shoulder with his outstretched arm. This movement continues the pointing motion of the judge. The figures are placed in an architectural setting which

helps to define the space: the judge's seat is in a slenderly constructed, Gothic hall, and a high doorway separates this episode from the martyr scene. The architecture is tall and narrow, emphasizing the stiff, vertical rhythm of line, which is also the pervading characteristic in the figures. The poses and movements are angular and abrupt; the spare figures have something of the mannikin. Combined with the doll's-house setting this gives the picture a far more unreal appearance than we find, for instance, in Giotto's Arena frescoes, although Giotto there attempted no such realistic scenery as Bernardo's. But Giotto's form is always significant and his compositions are rhythmic expressions of his creative imagination, not theoretical propositions like Bernardo Daddi's frescoes.

In the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence the space composition is carried out on about the same principle as in the picture last described, but with greater use of architectural elements. The whole field is occupied by one scene. Almost in the middle, a short distance from the foreground, lies St. Lawrence stretched out on a grill, and at the corners of this rectangle are placed four men, the two in front tending the bellows and poking the fire, the others bringing baskets of coal. The arrangement thus resembles, in principle, that of the Stoning of Stephen. The artist has desired before all else to stress the diagonals, but in order not to conceal the recumbent figure he has pushed aside the two men in the foreground. Besides these four figures about the gridiron there are four other men standing two by two, forming groups with the two coal-bearers. The formal connection is more evident than the psychological; the movements and gestures are throughout weak and unexpressive; they lack entirely the inevitability so characteristic of Giotto's figures.

The architecture, as we have said, is considerably elaborated. Furthest to the left is a delicately constructed audience chamber, in which stands the Roman consul, who conducts the execution; this building is continued back with successive angles to the background, thereby gradually increasing the depth of the picture. Up on the right side rises a tower, counterbalancing the hall. The architecture is adapted as a frame to the figures and serves materially to give stability to the rather straggling composition. The picture has suffered from restoration, but it certainly never had any greater decorative effect. It is unreal in the same way as the corresponding piece, in that it lacks the formal qualities of weight and strength, not to mention the movement essential to a convincing impression of reality. Fresco composition on a large scale was not the best medium for a painter of Bernardo's type.

We have already in our cursory analysis of Bernardo's frescoes had occasion to notice their fundamental dissimilarity to Giotto's work. It is plain that the artist did not derive his inspiration from that source; one can more easily trace a certain resemblance to the paintings of the so-called St. Cecilia-master, especially in the light and slender, architectural forms. The theory has been advanced that Bernardo Daddi was the St. Cecilia-master's pupil.¹ That is conceivable, but far from certain. The determining influence on Bernardo's art seems in any case to have come from Siena, or more definitely from Ambrogio Lorenzetti. In this master we find the same pronounced attempt to create space as such, to represent a tri-dimensional scene in which the figures can freely move. Ambrogio's frescoes in San Francesco in Siena are the best examples of this tendency. It is not impossible that Bernardo saw these paintings, although such an assumption is by no means necessary to explain the close relation between Bernardo and Ambrogio. The older master lived in Florence, as we have pointed out, in the early thirties, and Bernardo can scarcely have failed to devote close attention to the principles which Ambrogio developed in his productions. It would be too much to say that Bernardo's art was wholly derived from Ambrogio's; that would be an underestimate of Bernardo's Florentine environment. It has already been suggested that his frescoes are to some degree parallel with the work of the St. Cecilia-master, who in turn bears a very important relation to Giotto. As Bernardo, however, devoted himself chiefly to a problem entirely unlike that which normally occupied Giotto's pupils, it is natural that his artistic character should diverge from the common type of Giotto's circle.

Yet we find at least one work by Bernardo Daddi in which the relation to the Giotto school appears obvious. We refer to the big Madonna (Pl. 152) in San Giorgio a Ruballa near Florence. This work, which vividly recalls Taddeo Gaddi's creations, may well be described as a derivative from the primitive type of Giotto's Madonna in Ognissanti. The composition is about the same as in the little picture in the Naples Museum: two pairs of angels stand at the sides of the Madonna's throne, and in front of them, in the foreground, two saints, Matthias and George. As the scale of the figures has been increased to about two-thirds of life size, the character of delicate cabinet painting has here entirely disappeared, but there is no compensating advance in plastic quality, no strong development

¹ Cf. Suida, "Studien zur Trecentomalerei," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxvii.

of organic structure in the figures, which have merely become bigger and heavier dummies. The Madonna, especially, has acquired distended breadth from her mantle, smoothly draped without any deeper folds. Oddly enough, the faces also seem to have become more like Taddeo's in this picture than in any other work of Bernardo's. What one misses here is the characteristic deepening of the space to which we have called attention in the smaller pictures: the Madonna's throne is moved much nearer to the foreground so that the two saints barely have room in front of it, and the little kneeling donor is actually outside the picture. It is plain that the painter felt himself far more closely confined to the example of older models in this big altarpiece than in the little pictures. He has here made his effort in the direction of robust massive form rather than of ample space effect, but neither his talent nor his training was adapted to this end. This picture is among Bernardo's least successful performances, but it has great interest as historical evidence that, in one period at least, Bernardo was in very close contact with the workshop of Giotto. It is natural to assume that this contact was closest before he had come under the influence of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, that is to say before 1332, but on the other hand it is quite possible that when it came to the execution of a big altarpiece, like the Madonna in San Giorgio a Ruballa, he turned toward older precedents than he was accustomed to follow in his smaller works. Naturalistic progress always appeared first in small-scale paintings — in miniatures, predella panels, and little altarpieces — before it made its way into the big, monumental works. In other words, it is not necessary to date this Madonna among Bernardo's earliest pictures because it is more archaic in style than most of his work; but we think it probable that it was completed before the middle of the decade 1330-40. After that time — in the later thirties — a gradual change takes place in Bernardo's style and method of expression. We can follow this in a number of Madonnas and altarpieces which next demand our attention.

We have already made some reference to the transitional character of the little triptych in Siena, dated 1336, in which the Madonna is represented in full front with comparatively soft and rounded contours. The picture is in bad condition, and therefore is not a favorable example. Very closely related to it is a little Madonna on one wing of the altarpiece belonging to Julius Böhler in Munich, which, as we have noted, shows on the middle panel a Crucifixion with an unusual number of figures. This altarpiece is

dated 1338. The Virgin sits on the usual high throne, set back some distance, surrounded by four saints in pairs on either side. The tone of the coloring is brighter than in the preceding picture and the figures show a noticeable softness in modeling.

This same general quality becomes more evident in a large painting (Pl. 153) in the church of San Giusto a Signano, near Florence, built on the same compositional plan. Peter and Paul stand on either side of the Madonna, in the foreground, and behind them are two angels, one of whom hands a rose to the child, who turns round sidewise and reaches out his hand to take the flower. The Madonna has an unusually monumental appearance; her height in proportion to the saints and angels is considerably increased, and her form has fullness and breadth in excess of anything we have hitherto seen among Bernardo's Madonnas. The space composition is not very far developed, yet it is somewhat better than in the larger picture at Ruballa, with which one naturally compares this altarpiece because of its size. These two Madonnas, in San Giorgio a Ruballa and in San Giusto a Signano, are the only two of their kind by Bernardo that we know of. That considerable time elapsed between their execution is obvious, both from the dissimilarity in the treatment of form and the difference in color effect. In the Ruballa Madonna the colors are relatively deep and saturated, and the whole effect is warm but not luminous; in Signano the color harmony is light, dominated by the pale green of the angels' garments and the pink of Mary's. The effect was probably more luminous when first painted than it is now, as the picture has seriously suffered from wear and renewal. These two big Madonnas are of unusual interest for the study of Bernardo's growth because on the one hand, especially in the case of the earlier picture, they connect him with the school of Giotto, and on the other they demonstrate his effort toward a more pictorial treatment of form and a lighter scale of coloring. But neither of them gives any accurate expression of the artist's central interest in constructive space composition. This appears more fully in the small pictures and in the two large frescoes, which must for the most part be assigned to the period from 1332 to 1336. Subsequently the constructive interest yields to a more unified decorative design, and the forms become mellower.

We have already pointed out this change in the San Giusto Madonna; we find it fully displayed in a Madonna which occupies the center of a little triptych in the Altenburg Museum (Pl. 154). The Madonna is here placed on a throne with a Gothic canopy. She

sits some little distance back, leaving room for two saints in front, and four figures, two angels and two saints, on distinctly smaller scale than the Virgin, on either side of the throne. The child is a lively *bambino*, balancing in a rather insecure position on his mother's knee, reaching one arm across his body to take a flower offered by one of the saints, and tightly clutching a bird in his other hand. His mother raises a warning finger. The situation has a flavor of childish naughtiness, and gives a more intimate interpretation of the subject than we usually find in Florentine pictures of the period. The Madonna, who is a trifle corpulent, is wearing a mantle which is not divided over her knees (as was usual earlier) but wraps the whole figure, uniting it in a broad mass. The saints are still thin, but their proportions are less elongated than before; their contours have softened, their faces filled out. Yet the similarity in type to the figures in the Signano picture is sufficiently plain to convince us of the master's identity. The two Madonnas, especially, are so much alike that no doubt as to their common artistic origin seems possible. The wing pictures of this triptych show the Nativity and the Calvary according to the same iconographic scheme which we have described in several of the earlier, small altarpieces. The compositions have no new features, but here again one notices the same modifications in the method of expression as in the central piece.

Development along the lines indicated continues in several later pictures; among these the big altarpiece (Pl. 155) from San Pancrazio (now in the Accademia in Florence) takes a prominent place. It is an *ancona* of unusual size, which in its original state, when the upper portion of the Gothic frame was still in existence, must have made a magnificent effect. In the midst sits the Madonna enthroned; on either side of her, on separate panels bordered by twisted columns and Gothic, trefoil arches, stand three saints. Above these are ranged fourteen prophets in half-length, and under the whole picture runs a high predella comprising eight small scenes from the life of the Virgin, in round-arched compartments.

The general arrangement in this *ancona* is practically the same as in several other large altarpieces from the middle of the fourteenth century; it is not the composition but the luminous harmony of color that fascinates us at first sight. The figures furthest out in the wings, St. Pancras and St. Reparata, are in sky blue and olive green; the next two youths, St. Nereus and St. Archilleus, have white and cinnabar mantles; nearest the Madonna, St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist wear respectively bright blue and rose. The

Madonna (Pl. 156) has a pale red garment and over it an ultramarine mantle which, however, has darkened. Round the throne are little angels, standing and kneeling, in light-colored garments, doing homage with flowers and music, like a wreath of fair spring blossoms round the throne of the Mother of God.

The impression of space, which might have been produced by the circular arrangement of the attendant angels, is spoiled by the overpowering and unwieldy figure of the Madonna. Both mother and child are even rounder and heavier than in any of the pictures we have seen heretofore, and they are out of proportion to the circular space formed by the little angels at the foot of the throne. The artist's attempt to enliven the faces of the mother and child with smiles has not brought a very happy result. It is perhaps just because of their forced and ineffective expression that the figures seem even more toy-like than before.

The six separate figures of saints are better proportioned, but show the same heavy build and limply rounded contours. They stand alternately facing halfway or fully inward toward the Madonna, but none of them is brought into closer relation with her by any life-like motion or gesture. There is no question here of space; it is merely a series of figures spread out on the surface, undeniably beautiful as decoration on account of the soft lines and the brilliant colors playing against the golden ground. Inasmuch as they thus fulfill their function successfully, we have no reason to expect of them any such plastic reality of form as we find in Giotto's productions.

The most interesting part of the whole *ancona* is unquestionably the series of little scenes from the life of the Virgin and her parents composing the predella, but before we take up this it is convenient to run briefly over several other Madonnas connected in style with that last described. The most interesting of these are a pair of half-length pictures, one belonging to Mr. Bernard Berenson in Settignano (Pl. 157); of the other, which in 1908 was in the possession of the artist A. Frattini in Rome, we have now lost track.

In both pictures Mary is turned half to the left with her head inclined, looking sidelong down at the robust child, whom she holds sitting on her hands. In Mr. Berenson's picture the child grasps the mother's neck-band and leans back, impatiently kicking; in the other, the child snuggles close to his mother, holding fast to her veil and pressing his cheek against hers. The pose is unusually affectionate and sympathetic. The types of Mary and the child are in both cases very reminiscent of those in the big *Accademia ancona*, although the

plumpness is less accentuated, and the faces are not distorted by any attempted smiles. The gentle, dreamy spirit of the Roman picture is greatly accentuated by the light coloring: the Madonna has a white garment beneath her deep blue mantle.

A third half-length Madonna belonging to the same category is owned by Mr. Grenville L. Winthrop in New York (Pl. 157). The picture is badly worn, but the composition has unusual charm, thanks to the affectionate grouping of the mother and child: she presses him to her breast with both hands and rests her head against his cheek. The child apparently feels constrained by her endearments and struggles to free himself. The composition is more graceful and natural than in any other of Bernardo's Madonnas, and at the same time remarkable for its closed form, in that the child is included almost entirely within the outline of Mary's figure.

A fourth picture, also representing the Madonna in half-length with a robust and kicking *bambino* on her arm, is in the collection of Mrs. J. L. Gardner in Boston. The Madonna belongs to the same group as those just described, though the composition is a little stiffer and less intimate. In artistic quality this picture is not quite as fine as some of the others, for instance the Roman Madonna.

One more half-length Madonna which may be mentioned because of its correspondence in composition to the previous ones belongs to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (No. 1040, formerly attributed to Agnolo Gaddi). The picture is of fine decorative effect and the general pattern of the composition is evidently Bernardo's, but the execution is by some pupil of the master.

An approximate dating of these Madonnas is possible on the ground of their resemblance in composition and style to the large Madonna which Bernardo, according to documentary evidence, executed for the Compagnia di Or San Michele (Pl. 159) in the year 1347. To be sure, this picture underwent thorough restoration at the beginning of the fifteenth century, but the main features of the composition, the type of the Madonna, and the general tendency of form, are still discernible. It is easy to see that the Madonna's plump face with the sidelong glance, and also the sturdy child, coincide very closely with what we have described in Mr. Berenson's and Signor Frattini's pictures. These three Madonnas are evidently sisters, made about the same time. The composition in the Or San Michele picture is, however, especially archaic, with its vertically ranged angels on either side of the throne. It looks as if Bernardo had here consciously followed some older model of some such type of

composition as we know from the "Madonna Rucellai" in Santa Maria Novella.

To judge by the characteristic qualities of form and color in these Madonnas, which date from about the middle forties, Bernardo must have received new impulses from Sienese art at about that time. One is almost tempted to assume that he was living in the Città della Madonna at that period, so strongly are these works dominated by Sienese elements of style. It is not only the general, underlying Sienese qualities, such as the soft, rounded forms and the luminous, shadowless coloring; more special traits appear in some of these compositions.

We find, for instance, that the Madonna (Pl. 158) which belonged to Signor Frattini in Rome repeats, with unimportant variations, the same composition which Ambrogio employed in two of his well known Madonnas, one in Rapolano, the other (Pl. 158) in Mr. D. F. Platt's collection in Englewood, N. J. (formerly in Sant Eugenio, Siena). The Rapolano Madonna, particularly — now very much worn — is almost the counterpart of the Frattini picture. Not only do the types and compositional forms correspond, but both show the same intimate conception. Bernardo gives a milder variation of that intensity of affection which vibrates through most of Ambrogio's creations, as we find not only in the two pictures above mentioned, but in his Madonnas in San Francesco and in the Accademia at Siena. In the well known San Francesco picture the child is more animated, kicking in a way which recalls Mr. Berenson's picture, though with the difference that Ambrogio's little boy moves much more freely than Bernardo's stiff doll. The Madonna theme, in general, received a naturalistic interpretation much earlier in Siena than in Florence. The Madonna was to the Sienese a more tender mother than to the Florentines, who usually looked upon her from a distance and represented her in hieratic dignity.

It is by no means in Madonnas only that Bernardo's dependence in the forties on the great Sienese masters is evident. It is equally plain in several, small predella pictures, for instance, those of the large *ancona* in the Accademia in Florence, or the scenes from the legend of St. Stephen in the Vatican Gallery. All these compositions are very surprising in the midst of Florentine Trecento art.

The first picture in the Accademia predella is the Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple. The composition shows no trace of resemblance to Giotto's or Taddeo's version of the same incident. The model seems rather to have been Ambrogio Lorenzetti's familiar

picture of the Presentation in the Temple, dated 1342, now in the Accademia in Florence. The scene is in both cases a Gothic church interior with three aisles, shown in foreshortening. The high priest stands in the choir, behind the altar, and in the foreground are the figures, divided into two groups so that the vista through the nave is uninterrupted. This skilfully designed interior is of splendid decorative effect, though Bernardo's is less monumental than his model.

The second predella piece represents Joachim, weary and sad, on his way back to the shepherds on the mountains, sitting down to rest at the side of a brook. The sheep and the sheep-dog come down to drink and two shepherds follow them along the path. Old Joachim does not notice them; he has fallen asleep and hears in his dream the voice of the descending angel. The mountain landscape is bare and silent; the golden ground has the tone of gleaming evening sky. In composition this landscape might be compared to some of the small views in the Santa Umiltà *ancona* by Pietro Lorenzetti in the Accademia in Florence, dated 1341.

In the third picture we see Joachim and Anna meeting at the Golden Gate. The composition is in great part filled with architecture of rather feeble construction. The main figures do not express the emotional significance of the situation; they are stiff and indifferent. More expressive are the two conversing shepherds who follow Joachim. The artist has not been able to infuse anything like the same importance into this incident that Giotto did, and his composition is lacking in rhythmic beauty.

The Birth of Mary (Pl. 160), the fourth picture, is again an interior, in which a remarkably good space design forms the foundation of the decorative effect. Anna sits upright in the vast bed, which is drawn in side view, with exaggerated foreshortening. She wears a gold-embroidered, light blue dress, and washes her hands in a golden bowl into which a servant is pouring water. The bedcover is cinnabar red. The drapery which shuts off the bed alcove on the right is drawn aside to admit two women in light-colored garments, bearing gifts. Two other women bathe the newborn infant in a shallow bowl in the foreground. These are all supple, graceful figures, in costumes with simple folds; their movements are quiet and restrained; the play of line has a soft and gentle rhythm. The successful space composition recalls some of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's interiors in the small St. Nicholas pictures in the Accademia at Florence.

The fifth picture, also, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (Pl. 160), is a colorful and decorative composition, but its

effect is to some degree impaired by the faulty drawing of the temple portico, in which the artist has again attempted a foreshortening beyond his skill. The thin, unstable architecture does not coöperate as successfully as in the previous picture with the graceful figures.

The sixth picture, representing the marriage of the Virgin, is no longer in position; it was evidently removed before the *ancona* was transferred from San Pancrazio to the Accademia, and now hangs in the Royal Collection in Buckingham Palace, London.

The Annunciation, again, shows a beautiful space composition, with only two figures, who have plenty of room in the airy loggia. The kneeling angel and the humble Virgin are drawn with all Bernardo's admirable grace. The quiet, flowing lines of the composition harmonize perfectly with the virginal sweetness of the Annunciation story.

The Nativity, the last of the series, takes place in an open mountain landscape in the half-light of early morning. The cradle stands on the rock, under a shed. The mother, kneeling, lifts a corner of the coverlet and lays her hand protectingly on the baby. Joseph sits with his back turned to the spectator, curiously watching the child. One of the shepherds comes down the mountain path with his sheep and his dogs; the others, who have lingered higher up, do not seem yet to have understood the jubilation of the angels. The celestial music is performed on an orchestra of zithers, violins, trumpets, and mandolins. This composition displays a novel iconographic design for the Nativity subject.¹ The kneeling Virgin connects it with the new form of representation of the Nativity which gains such popularity through Lorenzo Monaco and Fra Filippo, where the tone of mystic adoration replaces the realistic narration. Bernardo has also contrived a suggestion of somnolent night by the use of subdued light and aerial perspective.

Most surprising in all these pictures is the formal flexibility with which the different compositional problems are solved. Though not highly imaginative, the recasting of reality is carried through with undeniable poetic feeling and a suppleness which, particularly in the interiors, is most captivating. We have here the same lyrical realism so characteristic of the illustrations by Sienese masters of the traditional legends. We are reminded, for instance, of Ambrogio's St. Nicholas series in the Florence Accademia, or Simone Martini's scenes from the legend of Beato Agostino Novello in San Agostino at

¹ Taddeo Gaddi represented the Virgin kneeling beside the cradle, but without the same tone of intimacy and poetic sentiment.

Siena. In these small narrative pictures we meet the same ready and suggestive solution of the artistic problems of space — either landscape or interior — as in Bernardo's predella pieces, and a similar supple and fluent drawing in the figures, but the Sienese have a still surer feeling for the expressional value of rhythm of line, and they generally give more suggestive hints of the dramatic or emotional import. Bernardo's art appears a little flat and monotonous alongside of theirs.

Bernardo has, however, created individual works with admirably expressive rhythm of line. Among these should be pointed out a small picture in the Jarves collection at New Haven (Pl. 161), probably once part of a predella along with two other pictures of the same form, one now in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs (Pl. 161) in Paris, and the other in the Museum at Posen. These represent scenes from the lives of St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr.

The Jarves picture shows the vision of St. Dominic. The friar, in black, kneels at one side, reaching his arms up toward two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who float downward; St. Peter offers him a sword, St. Paul a book. The figures, kneeling and floating, stand out in sharply defined silhouette against the golden ground. They are wrapped in trailing mantles, and their swinging contours form living curves of motion linked together by means of the outstretched arms. A rhythmic wave motion is thus carried obliquely across the picture, suggesting on the one hand the giving and inspiring power of the floating saints, on the other the aspiration and devotion of the recipient. Here Bernardo appears as a true poet of line. The picture in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs represents St. Peter Martyr stopping a runaway horse, while preaching in the *piazza*. The problem of a mass of people gathered in front of the preacher is a much less apposite subject for Bernardo's draughtsmanship than the three silhouettes of the previous picture. The Posen panel shows St. Dominic saving a ship in a storm.

The eight small pictures of the legend of St. Stephen (Pls. 162, 163), in the Vatican Gallery, also were evidently once parts of a predella. The writer some years ago explained their subjects, previously unsolved.¹ The first picture shows the stoning of the young deacon. He kneels to the right, bending forward with clasped hands. Three men stand behind him in aggressive attitudes with arms raised to throw stones at him. The movement, which takes place in the relief plane,

¹ Cf. "Notizie critiche sui quadri sconosciuti nel Museo Cristiano Vaticano," *L'Arte*, Anno IX, Fasc. 5.

has remarkable swing and speed. As a counterbalance to the kneeling martyr, a standing figure is introduced in the lower left-hand corner. The scene is enclosed by a gray hillside and some dark trees. The picture is expressive: the vivid rhythm of line in the assault of the executioners is most effective.

The following pictures of this series illustrate the recovery of the martyr's body, his solemn entombment, and certain miracles performed above his grave. Thus in the second panel we find the holy Gamaliel appearing in a dream to Lucianus to tell him where the remains of Stephen are concealed. The patriarch, clad in a white mantle, is floating over a bed with a red coverlet, on which the elderly deacon lies sleeping. In front of the bed stand four jars, three of gold and one of silver. Two of these are filled with red roses, the third with white; the silver jar contains sweet-smelling saffron. According to the legend, Gamaliel explains the meaning of the jars in this way: "These are our relics. The red roses represent St. Stephen, who lies at the entrance to the tomb. The second jar is that of St. Nicodemus, who also lies close to the entrance; the silver jar represents my son Abida who passed from this life pure and unspotted; his body lies close to mine." Gamaliel then disappears. The composition is highly suggestive, thanks to the two light-colored figures and their clear, rhythmically unified play of line in the room empty except for the bed and the four jars. It reminds us somewhat of the picture in the Jarves collection.

The next picture, composed on similar principles, represents Lucianus kneeling before the Bishop of Jerusalem, who sits on his chair of office to the right of the picture, attended by two monks. Lucianus is near the middle of a bare room, and in a doorway to the left stands a servant. The composition is beautifully balanced. The main figure dominates by his isolation in the middle, and his connection with the bishop is established by means of their outstretched arms. Both figures are represented in full profile. The lines flow gently from the seated to the kneeling figure, suggesting the quiet and intimate tone of their conversation concerning the miraculous dream and the place where the relics of St. Stephen are to be sought.

In the fourth picture we see how the bodies of the four martyrs were disinterred in the presence of sundry, high church dignitaries and a crowd of curious men. "Hardly had they opened St. Stephen's coffin when a trembling of the earth was felt and a lovely fragrance spread far around." The task of representing a large mass

of people gathered about the digging men exposes the artist's serious limitations. He has as usual attempted to produce an effect of space, a scene where the action is made visible by the arrangement of the figures in a semicircular wall, isolating the area in which the diggers work. These men are placed at the four corners of the open grave just as the executioners are placed at the four corners of St. Lawrence's grill in the Santa Croce fresco. An open scene effect has been approximated by this device, but the mass of men is crowded together; the artist has been unable to represent figures behind each other in the same horizontal plane. The decorative effect is therefore less satisfactory than in the previous pictures.

In the fifth picture the relics of St. Stephen are borne in solemn procession to Jerusalem. This took place on December 26, 415. The legend goes on: "Stephen's body had been reduced to ashes, yet the bones were found in their original position. Subsequently a small part of the martyr's relics was left at Cafargamala, and the rest was placed in an urn and borne amid the singing of psalms and hymns to the Church of Zion in Jerusalem." The artist has substituted for the urn a coffin, carried on the shoulders of six deacons. Before the coffin walk the Bishops of Sebaste and Jericho, and in front of them the singing choristers. The composition is thus entirely dominated by a series of parallel verticals contrasting with the long horizontals of the casket, and from these it derives a solemn monumental character.

The sixth picture shows the working of miracles at St. Stephen's grave. The sick and the crippled kneel round the altar where the saint's relics are deposited; overhead rises a low, groined vault supported on four columns. The artist has taken full advantage of this arrangement to enclose the whole composition in an architectonic space which satisfactorily combines the figures and brings out the third dimension. The cripples who prostrate themselves round the altar sarcophagus and the subdued light under the low vault effectively suggest a tone of mystic faith and wondering expectancy.

In the seventh picture we again see a solemn procession of deacons bearing the coffin, followed by the same richly attired prelates. This represents the final transfer of the relics to Rome. The composition is a counterpoise to the preceding procession.

The last picture of the series represents the interment of St. Stephen in the grave where St. Lawrence had already been laid. In order to make room for both, St. Lawrence, "the courteous Spaniard," had to move a little. The ensconsing of the two young saints

takes place in the presence of the Pope and attendant cardinals and bishops, who form a semicircle round the sarcophagus, some of them bending forward to help put St. Stephen in place. Outside this circle stand a number of sufferers, among them a possessed woman whose devil is taking flight. The little crypt, which is closed in by a low ceiling on columns, is so crowded that the figures are crushed against each other; the whole effect is rather obscure and confused.

Originally these little pictures were apparently distinguished by a light and clear color scale, but they are now darkened by dirt and smoke. One surmises more than one sees of their beauty of color. But the attractive compositions and the charm of the figure drawing maintains them in a place of honor among Bernardo's most delicate and expressive work.

Characteristically enough these pictures have been ascribed by several authorities to Sienese painters. Crowe and Cavalcaselle assigned them to Pietro Lorenzetti, and were followed in this attribution by Thode. Berenson once ascribed them to Ambrogio Lorenzetti (cf. *Central Italian Painters*, first edition); this distinguished authority has long since abandoned that opinion, but it was given further currency by E. von Meyerburg in his monograph on Ambrogio Lorenzetti.¹ Venturi sees in them the same hand as in the Allegories in the Lower Church in Assisi.² Several students, however, have independently reached the same conviction as ours, that the pictures were painted by Bernardo Daddi.

It is particularly interesting to note that several of the best experts on early Italian art have designated these pictures as Sienese; we have again and again had occasion to point out Bernardo's close dependence on contemporary Sienese art, and have even hazarded the guess that Bernardo for some time worked in Siena. A careful comparison of these scenes with the predella compositions under the large *ancona* in the Accademia in Florence can leave no doubt that it was Bernardo who painted them. The fluently turned figures are in both cases the same, and so are the dainty, doll-like types. The similarities are unmistakable to those who take the trouble to make careful comparison; and furthermore we meet in both series the same kind of space design and architectural motifs, the same soft, linear style, and the same beguiling realism.

Is nothing more known as to the original situation or purpose of these predella pieces? We must answer, nothing certain. We can-

¹ Zurich, 1903.

² *Storia*, v, 486.

not, however, refrain from a hypothesis that seems satisfactory so far as we can judge from style, but needs corroboration by measurements which we have not had opportunity to make. Is it not conceivable that these little pictures formed the predella under the large altarpiece (Pl. 164) in Sir Hubert Parry's collection at Highnam Court? In this five-leaved polyptych St. Lawrence and St. Stephen occupy the most prominent places in the wings. They are fully visible, whereas their companions, St. Andrew and St. James, are half hidden. The two other pairs of saints, standing closer to the central Crucifixion, are St. Peter and St. Paul, and St. Bartholomew and St. George. It is not only conceivable but probable that St. Stephen and St. Lawrence were the patrons of the church or chapel for which this picture was painted, (cf. the placing of St. Pancras in the Florentine *ancona*) and if this were the case the predella presumably represented scenes from the legend of St. Stephen.

The Highnam Court altarpiece bears the following inscription: "ANO DNI MCCCXLVIII BERNARDUS PINXIT ME QUEM FLORENTIE FINISIT." The date gives to this picture an unusual historic interest: it illustrates the last stage in the artistic evolution of Bernardo. The figure style is fundamentally the same as in the Florentine *ancona* — the rounded faces and the full forms with softly falling draperies are equally characteristic in both — but the coloring is paler, perhaps because the artist died before the completion of the work.

In the central panel is represented the Crucifixion, a composition rich in figures, designed on the same principle as in the little triptych at Böhler's in Munich. The Magdalen kneels, clasping the foot of the cross; to the left are the relatives of Christ, gathering round the swooning Mary; to the right, the soldiers who cast lots for the garment. Behind both groups rise mounted men, among them Longinus, on the right, pointing toward Christ. The space effect is even weaker than in the smaller picture; the figures are compressed and partly cut off by the frame. At the same time their forms have become fuller and heavier, thereby naturally detracting from the impression of space. This painting is a rather unfortunate enlargement of the composition of earlier small panels. It hardly counterbalances the large saints on the wings. As the central part does not rise to dominate the whole, the general decorative impression is unsatisfactory; it seems almost as if one might here detect declining power and relaxed appreciation of decorative line composition. The drawing, too, of the individuals is a trifle slacker than in the previous works of the master. The wide mantles hang like sacks round the

broad figures, which are cut into, in a disquieting way, by the spindly frames. This was, as we know, by no means the case in the Florentine *ancona*, where the figures appear free-standing in complete silhouette of line and color against the golden ground; the forms there are clearer, and they have despite their softness a firmer tectonic structure. Nevertheless both faces and hands, as well as draperies, are closely corresponding in the two altarpieces. There is no room for doubt as to the identity of the master. Some years, however, must have elapsed between the execution of the two large pictures. As the later is dated with the year of Bernardo's death, it is probable that it was completed by assistants.

In connection with the central picture in the Highnam Court polyptych we wish to refer to three smaller Crucifixions, one in the collection of Mr. H. Harris, London; the other in the Uffizi, and the third in the Accademia, Florence (Pl. 165). The first one, which is of small dimensions is by far the finest in quality; the slender, carefully modeled figures correspond closely to the small figures in the St. Stephen pictures in the Vatican Gallery. It is a little masterpiece, by Bernardo himself, though not in the best state of preservation. The two larger Crucifixions are evidently later, and neither of them can be unreservedly endorsed as the master's own work. Both represent the subject according to the same principles of composition: the Magdalen kneeling at the foot of the cross, embracing the post; St. John to the right, facing inward, looking up at Christ; the Virgin at the left, her face averted, weeping, with hands clasped under her chin. Small angels collect the blood of the Redeemer in cups. The Uffizi picture shows somewhat thinner, suppler figures than in the Accademia, and is on the whole more characteristic of Bernardo's manner, but it is not well preserved. The Accademia picture has broader, heavier figures, and we are more inclined to regard this as a product of his workshop.

With these pictures, then, we have reached the limit of Bernardo's individual achievement, and it is only too probable that some of the later pieces which might be associated with his name were done in large part by assistants in his studio. There are, however, one or two which we feel ought to be mentioned in a description of Bernardo's works. Particularly interesting is a little painting, closely related to the predellas in Florence and Rome, belonging to the Prato Gallery. This consists of seven illustrations of the legend of the holy girdle of the Virgin, which is counted as the most precious relic of the Prato Cathedral. The scenes are not separated on

different panels, but form a continuous series within a uniting frame.

First we see the apostles gathered round the tomb of Mary, which she has just left; then St. Thomas showing a girdle to the other apostles, who all stand in a group in front of a church (Pl. 166). The third picture shows the marriage of the famous Pratese, Michele Dragomari, and the fourth an elderly woman giving Michele a basket in which to bring home the holy girdle. Both these pictures are interiors, with the same intimate character as some of the most attractive pictures in the St. Stephen series. They attest Bernardo's art of creating, with the simplest means — only three figures in a bare room — a tone of homely quiet and decorative refinement. The fifth picture illustrates the voyage of Dragomari to Palestine — and here the limitations of the artist are more evident than his merits. The sixth represents the sleeping Dragomari on his deathbed, committing the basket with the holy girdle to a canon of the Prato Cathedral.

These small scenes offer no new element in the characterization of Bernardo's art. They merely confirm what we have already observed in the works of this amiable cabinet painter; they have the same suggestive lyrical naturalism and softly decorative rhythm of line that we have already pointed out in the earlier predellas, but they are more uneven, and not quite up to the master's standard in space composition.

There are two small predella fragments with subjects from the legend of St. Cecilia in the Museum at Pisa, very attractive both in color and in illustrative arrangement. They were probably executed by Bernardo himself. Two more small fragments of about the same size are in the storeroom of the Uffizi. It seems, however, unessential to dwell on the description of every little bit of Bernardo's work which may have been preserved when we have already analyzed the more important productions in which his artistic individuality is most clearly manifested.

Bernardo, on the whole, is a master who does not surprise us by any sudden leaps in his development. He remains from first to last the same gentle and sensitive painter, who attains his happiest results in small Madonna triptychs and narrative predella pieces, but who lacks the power to create larger monumental compositions. His naturalism is almost comparable to that of the miniaturists, and his fine feeling for soft line is not combined with any corresponding sense for tectonic structure. The flower-like charm which distin-

guishes the best of his frail, tenderly glowing little Madonnas is unequaled in the work of any other Florentine Trecento master. Its home is among the verdant hills of Siena.

Bernardo was, to be sure, born a Florentine, and his art reveals at the beginning a remarkably speculative feature, particularly in its attempt to develop tridimensional space composition, but it appears that his emotional and imaginative nature could not get the desired nourishment in Florence; he was evidently carried, as years went by, into increasingly closer contact with the art of Siena, first with the works of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, later on probably with the creations of other Sienese masters from the following of Ambrogio and Simone. He thus acquired a position connecting the art of Florence and the art of Siena during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and hence became of unusual importance in the development of painting in the city on the Arno. The art of Bernardo forms the starting-point for the preponderant pictorial trend which gains further ground in Florence during the later fourteenth century in comparison with the more plastic and monumental style which started from Giotto.

Bernardo evidently had a large following among the younger Florentine painters, and we have reason to believe that several of them worked as assistants in his *bottega*. We judge of these from Pl. 167. Among these should, of course, be named in the first place his son, Daddo di Bernardo, inscribed in the Compagnia di San Luca in 1351 and in the Arte dei Medici e Speziali in 1358, who perhaps executed certain of the works in which the style of Bernardo is continued in a somewhat coarser form. As examples of these later products of Bernardo's *bottega* — possibly by Daddo — should be mentioned a large triptych in the Galleria Corsini in Florence, representing the Madonna between four saints, and a still larger Coronation (Pl. 168) in the Uffizi. The most characteristic feature in these paintings is the extremely heavy, shortwaisted figures with large heads and wry mouths. The same characteristics are also evident in the half-length Madonna in Berlin, already mentioned, and in an altar wing representing St. Catherine and St. Lawrence, in the University Museum in Göttingen — to note only a few examples from among a great number of school pictures.

A better known painter, active for some time in the *bottega* of Bernardo, was Alegretto Nuzi, who after settling in the Romagna became the leading master in that part of Italy, freely developing the Florentine mode into something more superficially decorative. His

numerous works afford interesting examples of the combination of the style of Bernardo with the earlier Giottesque traditions of the Romagna.

Among the prominent Florentines who received a decisive impulse from Bernardo's works, the most noteworthy are Andrea Orcagna and his brother Nardo, whom we shall discuss more particularly in a later chapter.

XI

JACOPO DAL CASENTINO

A POSITION somewhat similar to that of Taddeo Gaddi and Bernardo Daddi was evidently held by a painter called Jacopo dal Casentino. He was their exact contemporary, but is less known, and as yet we have not been able to associate with his name such numerous works as have been attributed to those two painters. The main reason of his comparative obscurity in modern art history is that Vasari gives a very misleading account of his life and works, confusing him with two later painters, Jacopo Landini and Giovanni dal Ponte. This has been clearly shown by the late Herbert Horne in his "Commentary upon Vasari's life of Jacopo dal Casentino," published in the *Rivista d'Arte*, 1909. The documents printed in this article prove that Jacopo was a contemporary of Taddeo Gaddi and Bernardo Daddi. In 1339 he took part in the foundation of the Compagnia di San Luca in Florence; and he was appointed, together with Bernardo Daddi and two other painters, Camerlingo of that company. Jacopo died in 1349, one year after Bernardo Daddi.

The starting-point for any discussion of Jacopo's art must be the little triptych (Pl. 169) in the collection of Ser Guido Cagnola in Milan, which is signed: "JACOBUS DE CASENTINO ME FECIT." This picture represents on the middle panel the Madonna enthroned on a raised platform; on either side stand two angels, and in the foreground St. John the Baptist and St. Benedict (?). The composition is very much the same as in some of Bernardo Daddi's altarpieces from the thirties, though the Madonna is clumsier and broader in proportion to the size of the picture, and the child looks very like an old man. His type immediately reminds us of Duccio's *bambini*. The right wing shows the Crucifixion, represented in the usual way, with only Mary and St. John standing at the foot of the cross. The figures are larger in proportion to the size of the panel than in Bernardo's Crucifixions. The left wing contains two pictures: above, St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata; below, two standing female saints.

Another picture which, from documentary evidence published in part by Milanese and in full by Horne in the above-mentioned article, may be surely reckoned among the works of Jacopo, is the large

Madonna from the Oratory on the Mercato Vecchio in Florence, now in the tabernacle on the corner of the Palazzo dell'Arte della Lana (Pl. 170). This again presents the Madonna on a large and ornate, Gothic throne, surrounded by angels and flanked by two saints in the foreground, St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. The picture has suffered from over-cleaning and restoration, but the types seem to correspond closely enough to those in Cagnola's triptych to make it entirely admissible that both are by the same hand. The characteristic type of Jacopo's Madonnas, saints, and angels is an elongated oval, with a long, almost straight nose, and very large eyes, usually drawn with double lines to emphasize the sockets. The forms are decidedly monumental; the angels of the Mercato Vecchio piece have an almost statuesque quality. The child is rather hieratic, and looks like a grown man. The difference between Jacopo's elderly child and Bernardo Daddi's playful *bambino* is marked. The general tenor of Jacopo's figures is stiff and severe: one might suspect him of having been a sculptor as well as a painter.

Jacopo may have been a pupil of Giotto; his resemblance to Taddeo Gaddi gives ground for such an assumption. But on the whole he is more conservative and more closely allied to Byzantine traditions, possibly transmitted to him by Sienese masters, than any of his Florentine contemporaries.

A third picture which on grounds of style should be attributed to Jacopo dal Casentino is a little domestic altar (Pl. 171) in the University Museum in Göttingen. The central picture shows the Madonna enthroned, attended by three saints on each side and two kneeling angels in the foreground. All these subsidiary figures are ranged in rows rising vertically on both sides of the throne, without much attempt at the realization of the third dimension. The Madonna's throne, although elevated on two high steps, is not set back into the picture. The child is somewhat more life-like than the two preceding. He stands on the Virgin's knee and reaches out his hand for a book offered to him by one of the angels; his mother is playing with his foot.

The types of the Virgin and child are the same, though on a smaller scale, as in the Mercato Vecchio picture. St. John the Baptist is practically the same in the two pictures, and so are the adoring angels. We also note the Madonna's long, boneless hands and the draping of her mantle. The similarities are so striking that there can be little doubt as to the identity of the master. At the same time the smaller picture is finer and more graceful, recalling Bernardo Daddi's

well known triptychs — an impression which is emphasized by the wing pictures: the Crucifixion, the Nativity, and the Legend of the Three Kings and the Three Corpses. Here we find figures, notably the three kings, which might easily be confounded with figures from some of Bernardo's later predella scenes. On closer examination, however, we detect a difference. Jacopo's figures are stiffer, the drawing is coarser, the technique is broader, the execution less skillfully adapted to such small-scale work — as we may also observe in the little triptych in the Cagnola collection. This little Madonna stands between the two documentarily authenticated paintings by Jacopo.

A fourth picture, revealing the same individual characteristics, is the enthroned St. Bartholomew in the Uffizi (Pl. 171). The saint, wrapped in a light-colored mantle, sits on a marble, Gothic throne, holding a banner and a book, with three angels on either side and two others kneeling in the foreground playing on violas. The painting has lost some of its decorative beauty from wear and tear, but it preserves a certain dignity of design. The adoring angels are characteristic examples of Jacopo's art; their long faces, with noses obliquely drawn, are a less pleasing variation of the type observed in previous pictures.

As a possible work by this master we might add a picture (Pl. 170) in the collection of Mr. Charles Loeser in Florence. The painting, which is of comparatively small size, represents the dormition of the Virgin. She lies on a bier, behind which all the apostles are gathered; in their midst stands Christ with the soul of the departed — in the form of a child — in his arms. The only apostle in front of the bier is St. John, who kneels, overcome by emotion, and grasps the corpse with both hands. Angels with long candles kneel in the foreground, partly cut off by the frame.

The composition might have been suggested by Giotto's famous representation of the same subject formerly in Ognissanti, Florence, but instead of spreading out the figures on a broad horizontal plan he has crowded them into a narrow, vertical composition. The picture thus appears overloaded, and as the figures are stiff and uncouth the general impression is heavy and compact. The resemblance to certain of Taddeo Gaddi's compositions is evident; there is the same compressing into a narrow space of large sack-like forms devoid of any real structure. It may be, however, that the picture was originally somewhat larger, and the decorative impression more satisfactory.

That the picture is not a work by Taddeo but by Jacopo dal Casentino is proved by the types; the drawing of the eyes and the nose is particularly characteristic. One should compare the face of Christ with that of the Virgin in the Cagnola triptych, or the angels with those who stand round St. Bartholomew's throne in the Uffizi picture. The similarities are so close that we must assign these pictures to the same artist. Also the somewhat oblique position of certain of the heads is very characteristic of Jacopo dal Casentino, who never was much of a draughtsman. Like Taddeo, he tries to outdo the monumental greatness of Giotto's personages, and ends by making his figures almost unwieldy.

Vasari tells us that Jacopo assisted Taddeo Gaddi in fresco paintings at Casentino, and from the pictures we have seen it is quite evident that he must have been for some time in close contact with this master. His individuality is hard to define in detail as so few of his works are known. His importance in the general development of Trecento art is by no means as great as Taddeo's; he probably held a secondary position, perhaps assisting his more famous contemporaries, Taddeo and Bernardo, and it is only as a complement to the discussion of their works that we have introduced a few remarks about Jacopo's paintings. It may be that further discoveries will make it possible to grant him a more prominent place, but for the present we must leave him as a craftsman well worth the attention of students who wish to attain a more complete knowledge of earlier, Florentine Trecento art.

XII

MASO — GIOTTINO

1

HISTORICAL NOTES

THE earliest writers who offer any information as to the immediate followers of Giotto — Filippo Villani and Lorenzo Ghiberti — both mention three names: Stefano, Maso, and Taddeo.¹ These are the only pupils of Giotto's that Villani knows, and though Ghiberti adds others, such as Buonamico and Orcagna, he evidently regards the first three as the direct and important successors of the great initiator of Florentine Trecento painting. As we have already pointed out in a previous chapter, Villani and Ghiberti are unquestionably the best informed authorities on this period, and their meager notes have practically the value of fundamental sources for the history of Florentine art in the fourteenth century. So little real documentary evidence has come down to us, and so few of the works which can be proved to be by these early masters have survived, that we have little opportunity to test the trustworthiness of their assertions, but their statements have been investigated by many later writers, and the few facts that were capable of verification have established their reputation for exactitude. So, in default of new discoveries, what they have to say about Giotto's pupils may be used as a basis for discussion, as a kind of working theory.

It is an important question how far Ghiberti's statements are to be preferred to those of later writers, such as the anonymous compilers of the *Libro di Antonio Billi* and the *Codice Magliabechiano*, and Vasari. For the artist whom Ghiberti calls "Maso" is presented by later authors under a different name — "Giotto." The works which Ghiberti assigns to Maso are, for the most part, attributed by later writers to Giotto, with the addition of certain other pictures. In order to attain a complete appreciation of this unusual problem, it might be well to begin with Ghiberti's account.

"Maso was a pupil of Giotto; there are few things by him that are not perfect. He did much to abbreviate the art of painting.

¹ Cf. the previous chapter on "Giotto's School," 1 and 2.

His works in Florence are: over the door in a chapel of the church of the Friars of St. Augustine [Santo Spirito] the story of the Holy Ghost, of great perfection; and at the entrance to the *piazza* of the same church, a tabernacle inside of which is Our Lady with many figures around her, executed with marvelous art. He was most skilful. He did a chapel at the Minorite Friars' [Santa Croce] in which are legends of St. Sylvester and the Emperor Constantine. He was a most noble spirit and most gifted in both arts. He also carved marvelously well in marble a figure, four *braccia* high, in the Campanile. He was expert in both branches of art, was a man of great genius and had many pupils, all of them thoroughly trained masters."

Of the works mentioned by Ghiberti, only the frescoes in the Cappella di San Silvestro in Santa Croce remain; whether we should be able to follow Ghiberti in his other attributions we cannot tell. It is, however, rather surprising to find that the next authority, the *Libro di Antonio Billi*, (written about 1500-07) assigns to another painter, called Giotto, the same tabernacle on the Piazza di Santo Spirito that Ghiberti gives to Maso; the St. Sylvester frescoes are not mentioned by this writer, who records Maso only as the painter of a fresco on the tower of the Palazzo del Podestà — which Ghiberti does not mention at all.

This striking contradiction between the statements of Ghiberti and of the *Libro di Antonio Billi* did not, of course, pass unnoticed by later authors. The anonymous writer of the *Codice Magliabechiano* (xvii, 17) simply copies them both, ascribing the tabernacle first to Maso and then to Giotto. A more complicated solution of the problem is sought by Vasari, who also evidently knew both Ghiberti and "Billi." He merges the two artists into one, a new personality, whom he calls "Tomasso di Stefano, detto Giotto," and to this painter he ascribes all the works Ghiberti gave to Maso and those which Billi gave to Giotto, besides some important paintings which neither of these authors had mentioned. To what extent this combination of Vasari's might have been upheld by arguments from style is impossible to tell, because of all the paintings Vasari enumerates after Ghiberti and "Billi," only the frescoes in the Cappella di San Silvestro remain. It also appears from Vasari's own words that the greater part of these paintings were already destroyed at his time; he mentions them according to tradition. The only pictures he seems to have studied with his own eyes were the San Silvestro frescoes and the tabernacle on the Piazza di Santo Spirito. Of the new material which Vasari assigns to this problematic painter, the

following is still in existence, and consequently possible to analyze in comparison with the San Silvestro frescoes: the Coronation of the Virgin and two legendary scenes over the pulpit in the Lower Church at Assisi; the Pietà from San Romeo, now in the Uffizi; and certain fragments of frescoes in Santa Chiara at Assisi. According to our opinion, all these paintings may be given to the same master, whatever his name, and this certainly lends added strength to Vasari's account.

Unfortunately, however, no painter called Tommaso di Stefano is known to have existed; only a sculptor of this name is recorded, who was enrolled in the guild of the stonemasons in 1385, and according to Milanesi executed a statue for the Campanile in Florence.¹ Vasari, who also repeats Ghiberti's statement about Maso's statue for the Campanile, may have heard about this actual sculptor and found reason for the misleading name — or, as is more likely, he may simply have regarded the name "Maso" as an abbreviation of Tommaso, and for reasons which we are unable to define, made him the son of a certain Stefano. Possibly Vasari also knew that a painter with the name of Giotto di Maestro Stefano lived in Florence during the sixties — he is recorded in the Guild of St. Luke in 1368 and among the painters who worked in Rome for Pope Urban V, in 1369.²

It thus appears that Vasari was not entirely wrong in his construction of an artistic personality, by whom he had seen some pictures in Florence and Assisi (which in part still remain); but he designated the artist under a wrong name, possibly because he combined him with a later historical personality by whom he evidently had seen no definite works. There are no signed or documentarily attested paintings by Giotto di Maestro Stefano, a painter who seems to have been a contemporary of Agnolo Gaddi. This Vasarian mixture is something like his description of the works of Giovanni dal Ponte under the name of Jacopo dal Casentino, only with the chronological order reversed. It may be that the nickname "Giotto" actually was used both for Maso, who was a pupil of Giotto, and for Giotto di Maestro Stefano, who naturally was called by this diminutive. No

¹ Cf. Vasari, ed. Sansoni, i, 625.

² Vasari writes in the life of Stefano and Ugolino Senese: "It is reputed that Maso, called Giotto, of whom there will be mention below, was the son of this Stefano; and although many by reason of the suggestiveness of the name hold him the son of Giotto, I by reason of certain other records that I have seen, and of certain memoirs of good authority written by Lorenzo Ghiberti and by Domenico del Ghirlandajo, hold it as true that he was rather the son of Stefano than of Giotto."

name was more likely to become popular for a follower of Giotto than "Giotto," whether derived from the artist's close relation to the great master or from his own Christian name.

In a previous publication we have used this name for the artistic personality who was responsible for the works Vasari describes (or at least, for those that survive), but it now seems to us more methodical to abandon Vasari's construction and to revert to the statements of Ghiberti.¹ We call the artist Maso — admitting the possibility that he might have been nicknamed Giotto — and start from the frescoes Ghiberti assigns to him, combining with these other paintings showing the same individual characteristics. That is the mode of procedure which, at least for the present, best answers to the methods of modern art history. In our previous presentation of the Giotto problem we dated the activity of this artist at about 1340–70, which made it possible to include among his works certain paintings which really are too late in style to be by an immediate follower of Giotto. These must be omitted once we admit that he is to be identified with Maso, Giotto's pupil. This painter evidently was not very productive — or else we may suppose that the greater part of his works have been destroyed.²

Who this Maso was in actual life is still a matter of conjecture. Two painters with that name — Maso di Banco and Maso di Ciacchi — are registered in the rolls of the Guild of St. Luke, both with the year 1350 after their names. This year, however, has no definite chronological significance, because it was attached to a number of painters' names when the original records of the guild were copied, and only in a few cases was it later altered to that of the painter's death. Of the two Masos only Maso di Banco is further known by documentary notes, which is perhaps the reason why he has been identified with the painter mentioned by Ghiberti. Maso di Banco is inscribed among the *Medici e Speciali* between January and April, 1346, and in October, 1341 he is the subject of a sequestration issued by the commercial tribunal in Florence.³ It appears from this document that certain of his movables, among which were parts of an altarpiece, a Madonna, two saints, a predella, a painting box, and a grind-stone, deposited in the drug-shop of one Sandro di

¹ Cf. *Giotto und seine Stellung in der gleichzeitigen florentinischen Malerei*, published in 1908, but written in 1906.

² We must also leave out several pictures attributed to him by Schubring in *Jahrbuch der Königl. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1900; and by Suida in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1904.

³ Cf. Poggi, "Nuovi documenti su Maso di Banco" in *Rivista d'Arte*, 1910, p. 153.

Giovanni, were seized as security for his debts. The poor painter was thus not only deprived of the fruits of his artistic endeavor but also of the materials for further work. He can hardly have been one of the most favored artists of Florence; it is not surprising that his activity should be limited and his actual accomplishments few.¹ It is also noteworthy that Maso is not mentioned among "the best painters" who were proposed for the execution of the altar panel for San Giovanni Fuoricivitas in Pistoja about 1347 ("li migliori maestri di dipingere che siano in Firenze per la tavola dell' opera di Sto Giovanni"), with his contemporaries, Taddeo, Stefano, Orcagna, etc. This gives us additional reason to suppose that his personal position was much less prominent, and that he for some reason never attained the fame and recognition to which his genius entitled him — granted that, for the present, we accept the identification of Ghiberti's Maso with Maso di Banco.

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¹ It reads like a confirmation of this documentary evidence that Vasari, in describing "Giottino's" Pietà, asserts that "he ever aimed rather at fame and glory than at any other reward, being free from the greed of gain which makes our present masters less diligent and good. And even as he did not seek to have great riches, so he did not trouble himself much about the comforts of life — nay, living poorly, he sought to satisfy others rather than himself." Vasari, vol. i, translated by Gaston du C. De Vere, 1912-14.

THE FRESCOES

THE chapel in Santa Croce in Florence where Maso executed his much discussed frescoes was a foundation of the Bardi family. According to the genealogical notes of Passerini in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, Gualtiero di Jacopo Bardi, who died in 1336, provided in his will that a chapel should be erected in Santa Croce for him and his descendants. This bequest was carried out through the care of his sons, and the chapel was dedicated to St. Sylvester. There are no records to show when this work was completed. Passerini claims that the only prominent son of Gualtiero di Jacopo Bardi was Andrea Bardi, who was knighted for his gallantry in war, and he thinks that it is the knight Andrea who is represented kneeling over the tomb in the chapel. We have, however, been unable to find any evidence to sustain this statement. Vasari's assertion that the chapel and the tomb were founded by Messer Bettino di Bardi is still more misleading, because the only member of the Bardi family with the name Bettino (Ubertino) lived in the fifteenth century.¹ We are thus left entirely to conjecture for the date of the decoration of the Bardi Chapel, but if no special reasons prevented the carrying out of Gualtiero di Jacopo Bardi's will, it is, of course, most natural to suppose that the paintings were executed sometime during the forties. Such a date answers best to the general character of their style.

The frescoes represent, as already stated, scenes from the legends of St. Sylvester and the Emperor Constantine, and besides these there is over the Bardi tomb a representation of Christ as judge on the day of judgment (Pl. 172). All these frescoes are in our opinion painted by the same master; the distinction which some critics have made between the legendary paintings and the judgment scene is impossible to sustain: the style is homogeneous throughout, though the lighting and the manner of composition is modified according to the different subjects.

The composition over the tomb (Pl. 173) is a very effective and original variation of the old theme: on the day of resurrection the graves open, the sun is darkened, the elements are in turmoil, and Christ, the Judge, soars above the desolation while trumpeting angels announce his coming, and awake the dead, who rise, trembling and praying, from their coffins. This tremendous cosmic theme

¹ Cf. Vasari, ed. Sansoni, i, 624, and Milanesi's notes.

has been presented by the artist with new essential features, which bring out its meaning with excellent effect. This darkened landscape, with rocks piled up as though by a cataclysm of nature, is so wild and inaccessible that no human being has ever been able to explore it. The man who kneels here has evidently just risen from the dead — roused from among the rocks by the voice of the trumpet. The grave yawns, and as the dead man looks up his eyes meet Christ, who floats in a glow of blue light, followed by attendant angels who bear the sacred emblems, the instruments of the Passion. The Judge makes the usual gesture with his arms; his expression is stern, his brows knit. The red mantle lined with green makes a brilliant contrast to the blue *mandorla*, which lights up the white, yellow, and violet garments of the angels. Darkness rests upon the earth. As the fresco is set back in a niche, it acquires a natural effect of chiaroscuro which makes it look still more like a vision.

Only three of the Sylvester frescoes are in good condition; the other two are more or less damaged. The first composition shows Constantine sitting in a chariot, announcing to the wailing mothers his decision not to follow the advice of his doctors, who have prescribed a bath in the blood of Christian children as a cure for his leprosy. It is situated so high up on the wall and is in such a bad state of preservation that any closer criticism is scarcely possible.

The second scene (Pl. 173) is Constantine's Dream, in which Peter and Paul appear to him and announce that because of his pious abhorrence of human blood he may be healed of his affliction if he will allow himself to be immersed in water by the Bishop of Rome, St. Sylvester. The figures of the two saints are not very distinct, but the emperor, lying naked in bed with an ermine cap on his head, is vividly depicted with his arms raised and his mouth open in the excitement of his portentous dream. There is still more striking characterization in the figure of the page in blue who appears in the doorway, listening intently. His bearing and movement suggest figures in Sienese paintings, and his blond, almost northern, type reminds us of some of the youths in the works of Simone and Ambrogio.

On the same wall with the Dream is the Bardi tomb, described above. Over its Gothic pediment are two medallions which are interesting as connecting links in style between the Resurrection of the Dead and the scenes from the life of Constantine.

In the third picture — in the lunette on the opposite wall — we see on one side St. Sylvester, convincing the emperor of the truth of

his vision by showing him pictures of the apostles (Pl. 174), and on the other the bishop baptizing the emperor, who kneels naked in a big porphyry jar. At the top of the picture appears the head of Christ, radiating golden beams, and the white dove of the Holy Spirit descending upon the convert. The hall in which the baptism takes place is paneled with slabs of colored marble, divided by square frames which contribute to the architectonic structure. The second of the compartments into which the lunette field is divided is still more remarkable: the emperor sits in an open loggia with three round arches on Corinthian columns, suggesting the architecture of the early Renaissance.

Meanwhile the Empress Helena had expressed her displeasure at her son's easy conversion to Christianity, and it is decided that a public disputation should be held for her satisfaction. Bishop Sylvester argues to such good purpose that everyone present is converted except the Jew Lambri. In order to show the superiority of his religion, the Hebrew has a big bull brought out, and strikes him dead by merely whispering in his ear. St. Sylvester, however, revives the bull with an episcopal benediction (Pl. 175). This incident is the subject of the fourth composition, an unusually decorative picture, showing the whole imperial court. The scene is a loggia, with the same Corinthian columns, carrying in this case a straight entablature and a back wall painted in a many-colored geometrical design. The emperor sits on a throne raised on a high dais against the middle of the back wall, and wears a light blue robe, which is now badly worn. On his right sits the old empress, in yellow, and on the other side an old man in a red-brown garment edged with white fur. Both turn in surprise toward Constantine as they see the bull slowly rising to his feet at Sylvester's command; Helena makes the conventional gesture of astonishment. This whole central section, including both the figures on the dais and the bishop and the bull at the entrance to the loggia, is effectively framed by the tall columns, prolonged by the moldings of the loggia balustrade. On each side is a group of figures, seated in rows within the loggia, some facing outward, some in profile, and some with backs turned to the beholder. By this clear disposition of the wide composition the main incident is well brought out and a significant firmness of structure is attained. Not only has the artist obtained a happy result by the vertical division of the picture, but he has very definitely indicated the dimension of depth. The opening in the balustrade in the foreground and the elevation of the three main figures in the background (so that the kneeling bull

comes up only to their feet) creates a large, open space, which contributes a great deal to the imposing decorative effect of the composition. The addition of two figures out in front of the balustrade further emphasizes the depth, and furnishes terminals for the sloping lines which start at the rear wall from the figure of the emperor and descend symmetrically, running along the heads of the men sitting at the sides.

There is here apparent a calculated clearness of linear and spatial design, which suggests the direct influence of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The Sienese had unquestionably made more progress than the Florentines in space composition, and Ambrogio, especially, stands unequaled in this respect by any of the artists of the fourteenth century. A comparison between Maso's composition and the two surviving frescoes by Ambrogio in the church of San Francesco in Siena gives support to our assumption. In the picture showing St. Louis received as a novice by the Pope, Ambrogio divided his picture into a main and a secondary compartment by means of a column in the foreground, and increased the depth by placing his figures in three different vertical and horizontal planes. In the other fresco, representing the martyrdom of the Franciscans, he placed the tyrant on a high throne in the middle of the background and created a wide, open space in front of the throne by drawing the kneeling monks, in the foreground, so low that they do not reach above the steps of the throne, and by carrying out the lines of depth from the tyrant to the foreground, over symmetrically arranged groups of soldiers, to terminate on figures standing at the outer corners. These are exactly the same principles of space design which we have observed in Maso's picture, and it is incontestable that Ambrogio attained a more definite result, partly because the composition is better concentrated, and less diffused in breadth. But none of the other Giotteschi, so far as we know, attains such a successful solution of the problem as Maso's. Imagine a rendering of this same incident by Taddeo Gaddi; what confusion and crowding would have resulted! The bull would probably have appeared to be flattening the spectators against the wall.

The types in this picture likewise show the strong influence of Ambrogio. The man who looks at Constantine with an expression of wondering inquiry is very like a Lorenzetti figure, both in his aquiline profile and in the vehement motion of his head. The same is true of the two figures just behind Sylvester, especially the man who sits with his chin in his hand; also of the young man with an energetic profile who stands furthest to the right in the foreground.

The last composition in this chapel, the only one described by the various authorities, shows Sylvester reviving the two magicians (Pl. 176) who were killed by the poisonous breath of a dragon, and also shows him closing the dragon's mouth. Thus two distinct incidents are represented in the same picture. The continuity of the scenes gives the artist more scope for his mastery of inclusive space composition, but he has kept the incidents separate, so that they in no way conflict. This is achieved by the ingenious introduction into the foreground of a column at exactly the point where the eye must shift in order to look from one picture to the other. (The fresco is too wide and the distance in the chapel too short to permit a view of the whole at one glance.) The column also stresses the line of the foreground of the horizontal plane, and forms a kind of counterpoise to the pilaster bearing a fragment of a broken arch which stands at the extreme left of the picture. These two together frame the dragon scene. Having thus defined the front plane, the artist has built parallel to the surface of the picture a rather low, ruined wall at the further side of the pit, in which the bishop and his companions are standing beside the dragon. Behind the wall rises a large rectangular building, with one corner pointing outward, so that its sides lead the eye toward the background, where stands an arched doorway, and behind that again a crenellated wall. This carefully planned succession of pillars, walls, and buildings of various heights and at different angles, produces a depth movement, an impression of space, which far exceeds anything else of the kind that we can discover in Florentine Trecento art.

This painter knew no more than his contemporaries of the exact laws of perspective, but his eye was true and his feeling for depth was unusually developed; here again he presumably shows the potent influence of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. In Maso's painting, as in Ambrogio's, the decorative impression depends chiefly on the successful handling of space, whereas in Giotto's work — especially in his earlier period — the monumental and decorative effect often suffers from the deficiencies in space design. There is barely enough room in his compositions for the big figures; it was not until his last works, the St. John frescoes in the Cappella Peruzzi, that he attained a proper balance between the actors and the scene, thereby considerably enhancing the monumental impression. At the point where Giotto abandoned this difficult problem, Ambrogio Lorenzetti began, and made notable progress in this important province of art. Ambrogio was the first who recognized that the spacial content was a

fundamental factor for monumental pictorial effect. Maso followed Ambrogio directly. The magnificent impression made by his maturer work rests chiefly on the treatment of space, which consequently deserves particularly minute analysis.

The figures in this last fresco show the same general characteristics and the same morphological peculiarities that are to be found throughout Maso's paintings. They are extremely dignified, though not monumental in the sense that we have applied the word to Giotto's work. The treatment of form is soft and well rounded, with a certain mild beauty of its own, though it does not bring out very much of the underlying tectonic structure or the capacity for motion. The draping is supple with small, tight folds; the hair and beards have a silky texture. One involuntarily recalls Vasari's description of Giottino's painting: "*i panni, i cappelli, le barbe e ogni altro suo lavoro furono fatti e unite con tanta morbidezza e diligenza.*" All the movements have the same restrained harmony, enhancing the nobility of the personages, which we find in the classic masterpieces of the High Renaissance. There is the same reluctance to disturb the solemn tempo of the scene by vehement or rapid motion as in the works of Raphael or Fra Bartolommeo.

The greatest energy of movement appears in the first episode, where we see the bishop down in the dragon's lair, forcibly checking the vengeance of the refractory winged monster. The old man performs his task with evident determination. Of his two companions, who wear the long cassocks of choristers, we see the face of only one (the other is partly hidden by the column), but that is quite enough to make us understand how painful the situation is, at least to the olfactory organ: the man squeezes his nose tight between his fingers, and wrinkles his brow.

In the second episode we see the bishop, still followed by his two deacons, climbing up out of the hole, one foot already on the level ground, pausing to give a benediction to the two magicians, who at first lie dead upon their backs, but in the same instant arise and kneel before the saint. This somewhat naïve manner of reproducing the event by a double representation of the figures is another Sienese touch. We find it in Simone Martini's picture in San Agostino in Siena, and in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's representation of St. Nicholas reviving a boy (in the Accademia in Florence).

The emperor and his suite, who witness the miracle, show no great astonishment. The monarch merely extends one hand, as though calling attention to some ordinary occurrence. One of the courtiers

cannot entirely repress his surprise; he raises his hands in the usual manner, palms turned outward. The demeanor of the bishop's attendants is similar. It seems to show a lack of imagination on the part of Maso that he should find no other gestures for this scene than the old, conventional ones which he always used when he ventured to depict an emotion by any means except facial expression. The various representations of persons raised from the dead among Giotto's paintings might have afforded him powerful suggestions for a more varied scale of gesture if he had cared to devote his attention to them.

The gentle and harmonious symphony of color, flooded with warm light, reminds us more of the work of the Siennese masters than of the earlier Florentine Trecento. Yellow, light green, dull pink, light blue, and grayish-white are the predominant tones, combined with unusual delicacy. There is hardly another Florentine of the period who attains such a beautiful play of color.

In close connection with the frescoes in the Cappella Bardi should be mentioned the fragments of another extensive cycle which the painter executed in the former Cappella Covone in the Badia in Florence. This chapel is now, since the rebuilding of the Badia in 1625, practically inaccessible, because the only part of it that still survives is situated over the vault of one of the later chapels. One has to climb over adjoining buildings in order to reach it, and the only entrance is through a hole in the old wall. As is well known, the plan of the Badia was radically changed at the time of the rebuilding of the church. The original choir was situated toward the Via Proconsolo, where the entrance now is, and on either side of the choir were high, Gothic chapels. The upper part of one of these chapels originally adjoining the choir is the place where we must seek the frescoes we are about to study.¹

From the fragments which remain, it is evident that the decoration consisted of scenes from the legends of St. Bartholomew and St. Stephen, and possibly also some from the lives of other saints. Of the first picture only the upper part is now visible: it shows a man standing in a loggia or balcony, looking down as if following some action going on below. On the opposite wall, at either side of the Gothic window, there are two martyr scenes (Pl. 177). The main figure in each is a kneeling saint attacked by men who swing their arms; in one case they seem to be throwing stones, so probably the victim is St. Stephen. In the other the action is not so clear, but it

¹ We published these frescoes in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1908.

may be the beheading of a saint. If, however, because of the likeness of the kneeling saint to the St. Bartholomew in the next picture, we interpret this scene as an incident from his legend, it may possibly be regarded as the capture of St. Bartholomew, while deeply absorbed in prayer, by the men of King Astyages.

The best preserved fresco represents the flaying of St. Bartholomew (Pl. 178). In the center of the composition the saint is tied to a pillar; three men are busy cutting loose his skin, two of them tearing it off the arms, and the third, kneeling, at work on the legs with a long knife. On the left stands the chief executioner, in oriental costume, with a high pointed cap, and behind him stands another man; on the opposite side stands a group of spectators.

This group of spectators furnishes the closest link with Maso's other known frescoes. The types show the same full oval with the straight nose, small mouth, and rather large, round ears, that we know from the frescoes in the Cappella Bardi in Santa Croce. One should especially notice the emperor and his courtiers in the resurrection scene; the witnesses of the martyrdom are exactly the same people, only differently dressed. Their position, either in full face or in strict profile, also identifies the master. The two executioners with long beards and big, hooked noses are very like the old men in the fresco of the Miracle of the Bull. The somewhat stiff movement is also noticeable; the actors in the martyr scenes give us the same feeling of restraint that we have already recognized in Maso's work.

Only one pair of the medallions in the window arches now remains visible. One shows an old prophet (in half-length), looking downward, who might be called an elder brother of the St. Sylvester in the Bardi frescoes; his face (Pl. 179) shows the same noble beauty, which, especially in the old men, has charmed us in Maso's frescoes.

In short, the types, the hands, the ears, the movement and pose in these paintings, which even in their ruinous condition make a splendid decorative impression, are such as to establish clearly the authorship of Maso. In the two best preserved, one can still trace the monumental, architectural background which is usual in the master's frescoes.

Besides these paintings in Florence there is a group of frescoes in Assisi which show the same style, though in slightly modified form, and have consequently been attributed by several writers to Maso or Giotto.¹ We refer to the Coronation of the Virgin (Pl. 180) which

¹ Cf. Schubring in *Jahrbuch des Königl. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1900; and Suida in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1904.

fills the big lunette over the pulpit in the Lower Church of San Francesco, and the closely allied frescoes in Santa Chiara, in the old chapter hall of San Francesco, in San Rufinuccio, and in the Istituto di San Giuseppe. These paintings form a homogeneous group, and when we accept the opinion of those who give them to the painter of the Sylvester frescoes, we do so with special emphasis on the fact that the Assisi paintings must represent a separate period in his activity. They were probably executed some years earlier than the frescoes in Florence; they are less developed in style, though they display the same types, the same restrained manner of composition, and the same characteristic, pictorial modeling as the more important and better preserved paintings in Florence.

Vasari saw these similarities, and consequently attributed the Coronation of the Virgin to his "Giotto." He writes about this fresco as follows: "In the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi, in an arch over the pulpit (there being no other space that was not painted) he wrought the Coronation of Our Lady with many angels round her, so gracious, so beautiful in expression of the faces, and so sweet and delicate in manner, that they show, with the usual harmony of color which was something peculiar to this painter, that he had proved himself the peer of all who had existed up to that time; and round this arch he made some stories of St. Nicholas." (The "stories" are of St. Stanislaus, not of St. Nicholas).

The picture is now badly worn in places. It shows Christ and the Virgin seated on a wide, Gothic throne, turned half toward each other, while Christ places the crown on the head of the Queen of Heaven. On either side stand close ranks of angels, solemn and still, most of them turned in profile toward the throne. One on each side turns in the opposite direction, while two — symmetrically placed — face straight out of the picture. Kneeling angel musicians may once have occupied the space before the throne; the lower part of the picture is now destroyed.

The types are round with broad forehead, eyes set far apart, and straight nose, like many in the St. Sylvester frescoes; the forms are well filled out; the figures are rather short and powerful, but modeled with remarkable softness. The whole manner of expression has perhaps even more pictorial charm than in the Florentine frescoes. Particularly characteristic of the master, it seems to us, is the stiff and restrained arrangement of the composition. The figures display practically no movement; they are lined up in rows, and their decorative value depends more on the individual beauty

of each single unit than on any active coöperation. The people who fill the compositions of Maso are always still and meditative; their souls are serene, their actions subdued.

It is only natural that the artist did not succeed particularly well in the two legendary scenes he painted on either side of the Coronation: St. Stanislaus Raising a Youth from the Dead, and the Martyrdom of the Saint. The compositions are squeezed into the surface of the arch itself, and are none too well preserved. The figures have little room for movement, and the lines are rigidly vertical. The conception of the martyr scene, where the old bishop is torn in pieces before the altar of a stately church and his dismembered limbs are flung in different directions, is frankly brutal, but the movement of the figures is lacking in vigor. They seem to lack the force necessary to hurl the arms and legs which they have hacked off. The balance of the design is obvious, the effect rather stiff.

Most closely related to these frescoes are, as already stated, some other paintings in Assisi, all in more or less deplorable condition, or even partly destroyed. The most important is the large Crucifixion (Pl. 181) in the former chapter hall of the Franciscan cloister (now the gymnasium of a boarding-school which occupies the premises). This shows, in a large lunette-shaped space, Christ on the cross, surrounded by eight saints, of whom three stand on either side and the two nearest, St. Francis and Santa Clara, kneel at the foot of the cross. The figures are powerful and rather heavy, and lack variety of pose. Their types remind us of what we have seen in the Coronation picture. Another less damaged fresco of the Crucifixion, and fragments of two Passion scenes are to be found in the little Oratorio di San Rufinuccio, up on the commanding height above Assisi. This composition entirely corresponds to the central part of the picture in the chapter hall: only four figures are present, the Virgin, St. John, St. Francis, and Santa Clara, the two latter kneeling at the foot of the cross. Here, too, the statuesque bearing and the well confined, rather stiff drawing are highly characteristic.

There is a third Crucifixion of the same style in a room in the present Istituto di San Giuseppe. Fragments are also visible of the Annunciation, St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata, and, on the other side of the same wall, an enthroned bishop. Incomplete as they are, one can see from what remains that they belong to the same group as the Crucifixions described above.

Finally there is the Madonna and four saints (Pl. 182) on the altar wall in the Cappella di San Giorgio in Santa Chiara. They are

statuesque figures, placed each by itself in a trefoiled, Gothic arch; the Madonna, in full face, sits on a decorated, marble throne. Her resemblance to the angels in the Coronation is undeniable, but the expression of form has become even softer and more rounded than before. The fresco has suffered a good deal, and it is not very long since it was freed from its coating of plaster.

3

PANEL PICTURES

ONLY one of Maso's panel pictures can compare in importance with his frescoes — the *Pietà* in Uffizi. But we must also notice (Pl. 183) a picture in the John G. Johnson collection in Philadelphia, and another in Santo Spirito in Florence. In both of these the Madonna is represented between two pairs of saints in half-length. The figures in the Johnson picture are not quite as broad and heavy as in the Santo Spirito altarpiece, and are better preserved. The modeling in both has a soft, pictorial quality which to some extent diminishes the statuesque rigidity. Most characteristic of the master are the figures turned full face — the outside pair of saints in each picture, and the Madonna in Santo Spirito. They are impressive not because of any individual characterization, but because of their emotionless serenity and their broad, pictorial form.

This same harmonious calm makes itself felt still more strongly in the famous *Pietà* (Pl. 184) which formerly hung in the little church of San Remigio or San Romeo in Florence, and is now one of the great treasures of the Uffizi. The composition is lucidly constructed, easily comprehensible, dominated by vertical and horizontal lines. At the top it is enclosed by an ogee arch, springing only a short distance above the long arms of the cross. On each side of the central axis, which is denoted by the upright of the cross, stand two powerful figures in smooth falling mantles: on the right, Nicodemus and Peter,¹ facing each other; on the left, a bishop, St. Remigius, and a monk, St. Benedict, both facing diagonally outward toward the body, which lies on the ground. St. John, who stands in the middle, in front of the cross, bending forward, helps to strengthen the vertical effect, for his attitude does not cause any rounding of the lines. The same emphasis of the verticals is repeated in the figure of the Magdalen, who kneels bolt upright at Christ's feet, on the left, her hands folded and raised to the level of her chin, with the same gesture as St. John's. The pose of the two kneeling donors, a nun and a young girl, is similar, and the position of their arms is equally angular.

In marked contrast to all these figures, the body of Christ stretches across most of the picture, slightly inclined from the horizontal. He is noticeably larger than the other figures, and his legs are inordi-

¹ The type of the figure recalls very closely that of St. Peter, but the figure may also be interpreted as Joseph of Arimathea.

nately lengthened, probably because the upper part of them is hidden by the woman who kneels in the foreground. The kneeling women form a transition between the recumbent Christ and the row of standing men; they are kissing his hands, and by their sorrowing attitudes they express more grief than all the rest of the figures in the picture. Mary, who is weeping over her son's head, plays no important part either in the psychology or in the formal composition of the group. On the other hand, the woman who sits in the lower right hand corner, her head on her hand, sustains the composition by forming the termination of the sloping line that falls down from St. John's head through the Virgin's and Christ's. It is noteworthy that the artist did not succumb to his characteristic love of symmetry and refrained from introducing a meaningless figure into the lower left-hand corner. Possibly the space was left vacant in order that the donors might be more easily visible.

The artistic impression of such a strict composition is naturally quiet and solemn. It is no tumultuous and overwhelming despair that is depicted with such suppression of gesture and control of line. All dramatic intensity, all audible lament, is dissolved into quiet contemplation. It is only with a gentle farewell that the two women kiss the hands of Christ. Mary looks at him, sobbing, but she does not kiss him, she does not rest her cheek against his, as in most representations of the episode. The movement of the figures of the Magdalen and St. John expresses inward sorrow, but does not take the form of large, liberating gestures; it seems intended to keep in the emotion, to condense the pain — and when the same gesture is repeated for the third time, by St. Peter, it expresses horror and pity, at the sight of the great nails which Nicodemus displays, rather than mere grief.¹

It was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that another such quiet, controlled illustration of the mourning over the dead Christ was produced in Florentine art; the attempt was then made to strike deeper with fewer and simpler terms, to enhance the

¹ It might be worth while to quote a part of Vasari's description of this famous Pietà, for even if he names the painter incorrectly, he has observed the work with the eye of an artist and has evidently appreciated its unusual spiritual beauty: "And it is something marvelous to consider, not that he ascended with his genius to such a height of imagination, but that he could express it so well with the brush. Wherefore this work is consummately worthy of praise, not so much by reason of the subject and of the invention, as because in it the craftsman has shown, in some heads that are weeping, that although the lineaments of those that are weeping are distorted in the brows, in the eyes, in the nose, and in the mouth, this, however, neither spoils nor alters a certain beauty which is wont to suffer much in weeping when the painters do not know well how to avail themselves of the good method of art."

effect by repressing the utterance. Not only the classical calm of his conception but the clear, constructive design of his picture brings Maso close to the masters of the High Renaissance. If he had lived a century and a half later, he might well have developed into something like the Raphael of the Roman period. He shows the same striving for balance and harmonious perfection in figure style, the same clear stress on space as a fundamental element in the solemn, decorative effect, the same control of form. The great differences are due almost entirely to the interval in time.

It is easy to find evidences of style to prove that the master of the Sylvester legend painted this *Pietà* when we compare the hands, the ears, the treatment of folds, the gestures and the attitudes. One can, for instance, take pairs of figures from the different works — St. Peter and the man behind the bull, Nicodemus and Sylvester, St. John and the deacon behind Sylvester, St. Remigius and St. Benedict and the two followers immediately behind Constantine in the resuscitation scene. But it is not primarily these details, but the general character of the figures, the soft rounding without shadows, the apparently structureless drawing, the repression in their whole bearing, which prove that Maso was the painter. It is a rather common opinion that the picture shows North Italian influence, among other things in the lettering over the cross.¹ There seems to us to be no reasonable basis for such an assumption, for exactly the same Gothic capitals occur in various Florentine Crucifixions of the fourteenth century.

On the other hand it is probable that the very manner in which the sorrow over the dead Christ is interpreted was inspired by Sienese art. In Florence it was not customary to represent the *Pietà* before the cross, whereas in Siena it was exceptional to represent it otherwise. Once Ambrogio Lorenzetti had painted his well known *Pietà* at the Foot of the Cross (in the Accademia at Siena), the significance of the symbol of the Passion, or at least some part of it, as the background emotionally most appropriate, seems to have been generally recognized in his native city. But whether any painter before Maso would have dared to introduce secular donors in so prominent a place among the saints, and on such a large scale, is open to question. We know of no other example in the art of that century, although we should always remember that many of the most interesting works are unquestionably among the missing. The younger woman, with the broad face, highly individualized, seems to have been the actual

¹ Cf. Schubring, *op. cit.*

donor; the older woman, dressed as a nun, is set somewhat to one side. What was her reason for ordering a representation of this great scene of sorrow? The death of her father, or some close relative? The old bishop seems to be protecting her with unusual warmth. Even in the way he lays his big hand on her blonde head, there is a depth of feeling.

If the predella is as old as it looks, the arms that are blazoned on it may give a clue for the identification of the name and date of the donor. They display a winged dragon on a circular field. The same arms occur on the graceful, Gothic monument in San Domenico at Arezzo that is traditionally called "La Cappella dei Dragomanni." The family is not one of the better known in Florentine history. The question whether one of the Dragomanni ordered the picture must for the present remain open. Of the history of the picture all that we know surely is that it came from San Remigio, where it cannot have been placed earlier than the fifties, when the church was completely rebuilt.¹

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Although the artist's individuality and style have already been characterized above, yet a few words of summary may be useful.

"Maso" was a Florentine. His most important paintings were frescoes, executed in his native city. Giotto's work forms the background from which his style emerges, but he never seems to have fully grasped the concentrated dramatic quality of Giotto's creations. His own epic imagination, guided by unusual care and restraint in expression, led him in another direction; he found in Ambrogio Lorenzetti a master better suited to his personal inclination and talent. Giotto's art became accessible to him mainly through the medium of Siennese interpretation. Ambrogio's efforts to increase the significance of space design and to render the human form, pictorially rather than plastically, seem especially to have appealed to "Maso."

His temperament was lacking in striking contrasts. He never gave way to emotional impulse, and never became sentimental. When he represents a tragic scene, he shows a profound feeling for the human grandeur of his theme. He does not attempt violent expression of mourning and despair, but brings out manly repression and quiet solemnity. Some of his works may perhaps at first sight appear cold, even superficial and meaningless, for the personages

¹ Gaye, *Carteggio*, i, 502, 508. Cf. Ricca, *Chiese Fiorentine*, i, 259.

seem to take little interest in the great events in which they participate. But the deeper one penetrates, the more one becomes aware of the undercurrent of religious feeling.

It is natural that an artist with such a disposition should express himself in harmoniously rounded forms and that he should endeavor to attain strict symmetrical balance, even more than the other painters of the Trecento. It would seem that Giotto's method of modeling in broad planes of light and shade and his plastic draping was somewhat too bold and resolute, too incisive for our painter. Besides, he had a more sensitive eye for the atmospheric tonality and a keen appreciation of color. His effort was to render his figures in a fluent line modeling, bringing out their full volume, but barely indicating the organic structure of their bodies; suffusing them in a soft, pictorial medium, distinguished for beauty of coloring more than for rhythmic vitality.

XIII

ANDREA ORCAGNA

1

HISTORICAL NOTES

COMPARATIVELY few of the painters that followed Giotto had any real understanding of the master's essential qualities, the gist and pith of his style as a painter of the human figure. Even among his immediate pupils foreign influences soon became active and the plastic method of expression was diverted to a more pictorial trend. The constant evolution of technical means seems to have stimulated a desire to display naturalistic effects of light and shade, which, of course, tended toward a dissolution of strong, plastic design. Hardly any of these younger men had quite the master's feeling for the human body as sculptural form, and none of them built his compositions as architectonically as Giotto. It is only too evident that they often tried to imitate him both in manner of draping and in the structure of compositions, but it was mainly an imitation of externals, not based on an instinctive appreciation of the problems that most concerned Giotto as an artist, and consequently it was of little value for the development of the fundamental principles of Florentine art.

It is therefore so much the more remarkable that we find these same principles largely vindicated in the works of a younger painter who may never have worked under the personal guidance of Giotto. Genius meant more in this case than artistic tutorship, and as Andrea Orcagna was a Florentine not only by birth but in his artistic aim and spirit, and was besides a genius of unusual scope, it is only natural that he should have continued in Giotto's path. Like Giotto, Andrea was both architect and sculptor as well as painter, and this activity in diverse branches of the plastic arts was of great importance to the development of his style as a whole.

Orcagna's central position in the Florentine Trecento has been well understood and strongly emphasized by writers of different periods; he is indeed one of the few of these early men who never seem to have been quite forgotten, and whose fame rests on authentic works, both

in sculpture and painting. Before we enumerate the scanty records of his life and works which actually survive, it might be well to note what some of the better informed of the older writers have said about him as an artist.

Lorenzo Ghiberti calls Orcagna "nobilissimo maestro," and says that he was "most experienced in one art as well as in another. He made the marble tabernacle in Or San Michele, an excellent and unique work, executed with the greatest skill; he was a great architect, and he worked with his own hand all the stories in this tabernacle, carving there his own portrait with his own hand in a marvelous manner. The price of this work was 86,000 *florins*. He was a man of exceptional genius. He painted the choir (la cappella maggiore) in Santa Maria Novella, and several other things in the same church. And in the church of the Friars Minor (Franciscans) he did three stories with the greatest art; in the same church, a chapel and several other things, painted with his own hand. Furthermore two chapels in Santa Maria dei Servi are painted by him, and also a refectory at the Friars of Saint Augustine. He had three brothers; one was Nardo who painted at the Preaching Friars (Dominicans) the Cappella dell' Inferno, made to order for the Strozzi family, following in this work what Dante had written in his Inferno. It is a most beautiful work, executed with great skill. The second brother was also a painter, and the third was a painter of no great prominence."

The anonymous author of *Il Libro di Antonio Billi*, who wrote more than a generation later than Ghiberti, but evidently independently of him, mentions in the first place Orcagna's frescoes in the choir of Santa Maria Novella, which, he says, "were spoiled by Ghirlandajo, who took several beautiful things from them." The author also mentions Orcagna's altarpiece in the Cappella Strozzi; and gives him credit for the Inferno and Paradiso frescoes in the same chapel. He points out, in particular, the artist's own portrait in the Or San Michele tabernacle, and says that under this figure was written "He himself made it." Finally he makes the following statements, possibly based on family tradition: "He amused himself with sonnets, some of which are still preserved. Of his descendants remains still in our city one Jacopo di Cione, a merchant in the Corso degli Adimari who had a house in the Via de' Corazzai Vecchia."

The *Codice Magliabechiano* offers no additional information on Orcagna; it contains merely a somewhat confused combination of

the statements in Ghiberti's *Commentarii* and in *Il Libro di Antonio Billi*.

Vasari's *Life of Orcagna* is a curious mixture and expansion of the brief notes of earlier writers combined with literary descriptions of the famous frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, which Vasari attributes to Orcagna (probably because of their analogies with the master's frescoes in Santa Croce). Vasari furthermore makes Orcagna responsible for the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence (which has been proved to be of later date) and assigns to him certain paintings in Florence — the altarpiece in San Romeo, the decoration of the Cappella Cresci in San Servi, and the frescoes on the façade of San Apollinare — which are no longer in existence and consequently offer no additional grounds for an estimate either of the style of the painter or of the trustworthiness of the writer. Concerning Andrea's early training Vasari makes the following statement, which may be founded on some tradition, though there is nothing to prove it: "Born in Florence, Andrea began the study of sculpture while still a child, under Andrea Pisano, and to this he devoted himself earnestly for some years. Subsequently, desirous of enriching his powers of invention and of attaining distinction in the composition of historical works, he gave the most diligent attention to the practice of drawing, and herein he was powerfully aided by Nature, which had destined him to universality of attainment. He next, as one effort usually leads to another, made attempts at painting in colors, both in fresco and distemper, wherein he succeeded so well, with the assistance of his brother Bernardo Orcagna, that he was taken by the latter to paint in his company in the church of Santa Maria Novella, where in the main chapel, which then belonged to the Ricci family, they executed the life of Our Lady."

Whether Orcagna actually started as a sculptor or a painter must remain a matter of conjecture, as we have no very early signed work of his in either field, but we at any rate know nothing which makes Vasari's statements impossible. They are therefore worth considering. It is likely that the two brothers collaborated to some extent in larger commissions, but whether they did so in the choir frescoes in Santa Maria Novella can no longer be determined. Ghiberti states, we have seen, that Andrea painted these frescoes alone, while he gives Nardo full credit for the frescoes in the Strozzi Chapel in the same church. The point is, however, of relatively small importance, as the choir frescoes no longer exist.

The records of the life and works of Orcagna, as of most of these early painters, are rather scanty, yet sufficient to allow us to outline his artistic career. Most of the documents are to be found in Milanesi's notes to Vasari's *Vita di Orcagna* and in his *Nuovi Documenti*; important additional material is in Karl Frey's book on the Loggia dei Lanzi.¹

The year of Orcagna's birth is not known, but we have reason to assume that it fell in the first decade of the fourteenth century. His name appears in the rolls of the "Medici e Speziali" which cover the years 1320-52; according to Milanesi, the year of his entry into the guild was 1343. He must have established a remarkable reputation as painter very rapidly, because in 1347 his name appears "con maestro Nardo di Balla" (Porta di Balla) in the often-cited document relating to the execution of the altarpiece for San Giovanni Fuoricivitas at Pistoja. He is mentioned here in third place, after Taddeo Gaddi and Stefano.

In 1352, on October 20, "Andreas Cionis, vocatus Arcagnolo, pictor Sancti Michaelis Vicedominus," is inscribed in the guild of the stonemasons of Florence. It may be particularly noted that Andrea is here called "pictor," in spite of the fact that he is now officially recognized as a sculptor. We also find that he no longer lived at Porta di Balla, but in a more central section of the city, near San Michele Visdomini. Andrea had now evidently attained his reputation as one of the greatest masters both in sculpture and in painting.

In 1354 he received from Tommaso di Rosello Strozzi the commission for an altarpiece in the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, and though it was stated in the contract that the picture must be completed in twenty months, it was not actually delivered until 1357.

Orcagna's renown as a sculptor and architect is notably attested by his appointment in February, 1355 to the office of "Capomaestro di Or San Michele," which he retained till 1359. The next year (1356) he submitted a design for part of the façade of the Cathedral of Florence, which was accepted by the authorities and publicly exhibited.

Still another important architectural work was entrusted to Andrea in 1359, when he became Capomaestro at the Orvieto Cathe-

¹ Cf. also Suida, *Florentinische Maler um die Mitte des XIV. Jahrhunderts*.

dral, then under construction. In this capacity he visited Orvieto several times in the next three years and supervised among other things the execution of the mosaics on the central part of the façade. In 1362 he received his final payment at Orvieto. After that he was again active chiefly in Florence, and is mentioned several times between 1364 and 1367 as taking part in the deliberations over the construction of the Cathedral façade.

It seems as if Orcagna during his later years had been largely occupied with architectural problems, and consequently had to leave the execution of his paintings to his brothers, who evidently worked in the same *bottega*. Andrea's greatest work as a painter was the fresco series in the choir of Santa Maria Novella, and these must have been done before 1358, because in that year the paintings were severely damaged by lightning.

Andrea died in 1368 — that is the date written after his name in the rolls of the Guild of St. Luke.

We know only one picture by Andrea which is authenticated by a signature: the altarpiece in the Cappella Strozzi. This is by no means one of his earlier works, as it is dated 1357, but it is the most important stylistically as well as historically, and must therefore be made the basis and starting-point of a more detailed discussion of Andrea's style as a painter. And as this painting can naturally be considered in connection with certain other altarpieces and small panels, we shall devote a first chapter to several easel pictures which can be attributed to the master, and then turn to the large fresco compositions which the early writers assign to him. No doubt these large, monumental paintings were once regarded as Orcagna's most important achievements as a painter, but their present condition hardly allows us to attach to them primary importance for the study of his style. Andrea's sculpture must here be passed over without further comment, as our task is confined to the Trecento painting of Florence.

2

EASEL PICTURES

THE well known altarpiece (Pl. 185) in the Cappella Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella bears the following signature: "ANNO DÑI MCCCCLVII ANDREAS CIONIS DE FLORENTIA ME PINXIT." It is not divided, like most of the altar pieces of the period, into a middle portion and wings. The chief figure, Christ, is not isolated, but is connected by symmetrical lines with the kneeling figures at the sides, St. Peter and St. Thomas Aquinas, so that they form together an equilateral triangle. The standing figures act as terminal pilasters, bounding and emphasizing the great triangle.

The figure style is distinguished by unusual firmness and strength. The bodies are somewhat thickset, with large heads and long, well defined hands and feet; their movement is definite and restrained. The attitudes show marked contrast between full face and profile, only the two women deviating a little from this plan. From the fundamental unity of the posing, combined with the solid structure, the picture gains an effect of ceremonious grandeur. Before accusing the artist of stiffness one should pause to realize how closely the grand, monumental appearance depends on this very quality. Besides, there is a glow of color that overpowers any thought of emptiness and stiffness. Azure, carmine, orange, red-violet (amethyst), light blue, gray, and black, with luxuriant gold brocade, mingle in a deep and harmonious play of tones. All the textures are executed with the greatest care, studied directly from nature, and rendered with the depth and richness of color that one sees only in the textiles of the Middle Ages; especially striking is St. Catherine's brocade mantle with its pattern of palmetto leaves and birds.

There is something about the drapery that attracts us even more than the beauty of color: the treatment of folds. We allow our glance to survey calmly the draping of the wide mantles of St. Paul or St. Peter. We let it follow the big folds and little, testing all the splays and the gathers, and judging them, so far as possible, by the standard of nature. After such a scrutiny any unprejudiced observer must concede that in the difficult art of handling folds this master stands high among the best who have attained success in this domain. No other Trecento painter attempts any such thorough and logical study of drapery as Orcagna. Even Giotto, despite his strict observation of nature and his plastic feeling, confines himself to mere

suggestion in the matter of draping, and the later Trecento painters usually lay more stress on the flowing line, on the harmonious falling of the folds, than on the sharply modulated details of a mantle. It is not until the great painter-plasticians of the fifteenth century that Andrea's efforts in this field are resumed. Probably it was in no small measure Andrea's interest in sculpture that trained his eye for the plastic qualities of drapery.

The faces are fairly uniform: elongated, with long eyes, straight noses, small mouths, and full cheeks; only St. Peter and St. Thomas Aquinas show any variation from this common type. Peter has an extremely energetic, strongly modeled face with a sharp nose and deep-set eyes. St. Thomas is one of those pale, well fed Dominican friars with a great aquiline nose and a sensual mouth, that one may still see occasionally in Santa Maria Novella — probably the portrait of a contemporary.

The nearest relationship in style to the Strozzi altarpiece is shown by three big panels, of which two have already been named in art literature as Andrea's work, whereas the third has hitherto remained unrecognized. The best known is the large Madonna (Pl. 186) in the Museum in Budapest (formerly in the Somzée collection) which is now officially designated as Orcagna's work. Less well known is the standing Madonna (Pl. 188) in the Santi Apostoli Church in Florence, which we attributed many years ago to Andrea; in consequence of its poor state of preservation it cannot be considered very important for the study of Orcagna. Entirely unknown is the unusually interesting Madonna, which we had the opportunity to study some years since at a Florentine art dealer's, now in the collection of Mr. Philip Lehman in New York (Pl. 187).

The picture in Budapest shows the Madonna sitting on a bench which is entirely covered by a gold brocade of rich leaf pattern. The drapery is held up behind the Madonna by two floating angels, and two other angels stand in adoration on either side of the seat. In the foreground kneel two more angels, one playing a viola, the other a portable organ. The Madonna holds the big child sitting on her left arm and bends her head toward him, while the child holds tight to her dress and puts his other arm round her neck. The figures, especially the Madonna and child, are squarely filled out, with big, round heads. Their type reminds one most of St. Lawrence and St. Catherine in the Strozzi altarpiece; their large, well modeled hands have the same distinctive form that we noticed there. The rich, golden brocade behind the Madonna, and also round the child's

legs, is executed with the master's admirable precision and accurate characterization of materials. The color effect is luminous: Mary has a red garment under her azure mantle, the child has a light red shirt, and the angels wear light-colored tunics.

The big, heavy figures fill the picture right out to the borders; the angels' wings are partly cut by the frame, which forms a heavy, round arch over the strictly enclosed composition. The Madonna sits close to the foreground, so that the two kneeling angels in front of the bench are almost pushed out of the picture. This manner of composition on the surface, which is here more pleasing than in the large altarpiece, gives the picture a relief-like character. The composition might easily be reproduced in some plastic material; this impression is due to the three successive, vertical planes of slight depth.

This relief-like method of composition stands out even more strikingly if one compares it, for instance, with the central panel of Bernardo Daddi's big altarpiece in the Accademia in Florence. The two Madonnas show obvious resemblances of type, their full forms and round faces are similar; but the compositions are conceived with different purposes. Bernardo has placed his Madonna on a throne set back in the picture and has assembled round her a circle of attendant angels, introduced in order to suggest an isolated space in which the Madonna is placed. Andrea maintains the surface plane and concentrates his effort on the purely decorative design.

The striking similarity of type can hardly be explained otherwise than by the assumption that at some time Andrea worked under Bernardo Daddi's guidance. He probably got his training as a painter in the earlier forties and appropriated his master's characteristic types, but he evidently did not sympathize with Bernardo's efforts in the direction of space design. He was more deeply rooted in the pure Giottesque tradition, and plainly did not come into close association with Sienese art. The strong influence of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, which was of such profound and decisive importance in the artistic development of Bernardo Daddi, seems to have passed Andrea Orcagna without leaving much trace.

This would scarcely have been possible had not Andrea already devoted himself to sculpture. Had he begun his artistic career under a painter like Bernardo Daddi, he could hardly have avoided absorbing more of the purely pictorial aim; his interest would certainly have tended more in the direction of such naturalistic problems as we have traced in the work of Bernardo and Taddeo Gaddi. The determining factor for Andrea's art, in distinction to that of con-

temporary painters, was this same relief-like and statuesque trend, which appears, if anything, more markedly in his earlier work than in his later. This gives strong support to Vasari's statement that Andrea began his education under some sculptor, and nothing prevents us from conjecturing that this sculptor was Andrea Pisano, the most distinguished of the generation of Florentine sculptors immediately preceding Andrea Orcagna.

An interesting corroboration of the preponderantly sculptural character of Andrea's painting is supplied by the *Madonna in Santi Apostoli*. Mary is here represented standing, with the child on her arm. The figure is towering, defined by long, unbroken, vertical lines, almost like a painted archaic statue. As the result of heavy repainting, the *Madonna* stands out merely as a silhouette against the gold ground, but she evidently has once been of considerable plastic effect. The types of Mary and the child remind us strongly of the picture in Budapest, although the modeling has been greatly weakened by the clumsy restoration. It is now only the general lines of the composition that rouse any interest in the picture. It is, incidentally, extremely unusual to find a Trecento *Madonna* standing isolated in full length. This form of composition does not come into general favor until the High Renaissance, when the effort to attain solemn and imposing effects again becomes potent. Andrea has plainly been led to this mighty and original solution of a traditional problem of composition by his great feeling for the human body as a plastic and tectonic phenomenon. The picture demonstrates, in short, a translation into painting of a sculptural conception. It is enclosed, like the Budapest *Madonna*, by a narrow molding forming an arch over the figure. The usual Gothic embellishments are entirely omitted.

It is possible, though by no means certain, that this *Madonna* was originally flanked by standing saints on separate panels. Several such separate figures of saints, which plainly were once wing pictures in large polyptychs have been preserved in various collections. There are three (Pl. 189) in the National Gallery in London (where they long passed as the work of Spinello Aretino), and a fourth, *St. Peter*, which probably belonged originally to the same series, in the church of San Stefano at Ponte Vecchio in Florence. Two others, on rather smaller scale, are in the Jarves collection in New Haven, and another pair in a private collection in Germany. In size and general style, the saints in the National Gallery—John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and James— together with the *St. Peter* in Florence, are the

most closely related to the Santi Apostoli Madonna, while the rather smaller saints, John the Baptist and Peter (Pl. 190), in the Jarves collection, might be connected with the Budapest Madonna. No definite hypothesis as to the original relationship of the pictures can be advanced until it is reinforced by more exact information on the measurements than we have hitherto been able to obtain.

Meanwhile we shall refer to the big altarpiece in the Pálffy collection at Bajmocz (Hungary) as an example of how Orcagna placed isolated figures of saints with a Madonna in a large polyptych. The picture, which we know only from reproductions, consists of five leaves and a predella. In the middle is a Madonna, sitting on a bench with no attendant angels, and on each side two saints, standing full face on separate leaves, unconnected compositionally or psychologically with the central subject. The figures seem to be powerful, plastic forms; they stand out defined and isolated, like a row of statues. It is not for its unified composition that this altarpiece is of interest, but for the sculptural quality of the separate figures. It is natural that an altarpiece put together in this manner should be more likely to be taken apart than an organic composition. Evidently it has been discovered more than once that Orcagna's saints and Madonnas have so much independent significance, entirely apart from each other, that they can be removed from the formal scheme without great damage to their artistic effect. The unusually numerous "*disjecta membra*" of Orcagna's altarpieces that occur seem in any case to prove that they were very commonly taken apart.

Of the figures of saints above named, those now in the National Gallery (originally in the Spedale di Santi Giovanni e Niccolò, outside Florence) are unquestionably the best. They are as usual in full face, standing firm with their legs apart, their heavy feet trampling a costly, brocaded cloth of red and gold with a pattern of pomegranates and birds. Their mantles produce a glowing triad of carmine, sky blue, and light green. The precision and plastic clarity with which these mantles are worked out is astonishing. Each fold is chiseled as though in marble or bronze, every line is defined with the utmost sharpness. Yet the broad forms are well maintained as wholes, and the tridimensional reality of the figures is entirely palpable. These are no mannikins or stuffed dummies, but men with real bodies, although they are not designed in such a way as to bring out the full value of the forms.

The two saints in the Jarves collection are, as we have said, a little smaller, and perhaps not so intensely plastic. Peter stands in

full face, but John the Baptist is turned half round, pointing toward the Madonna who was in the middle. The same is true of the two other saints mentioned above — John the Baptist and St. Nicholas — who are in similar attitudes and in general correspond to the saints in the Jarves collection. In all these pictures we may observe the artist's masterly handling of drapery and his skill in rendering the various materials, the brocade carpets on the floor and the heavy mantles on the broad shoulders. They corroborate what we have already said of the more important pictures, but contribute no new material for the characterization of the painter.

The third Madonna, now in Mr. Lehman's collection, differs in composition from both those described, and should be dated rather later. Mary sits low on a cushion, with one leg bent under her; on the other knee, which is raised, she supports the child, who lies stiff and straight in her lap, reaching for her breast, which he seizes with one hand. Mary bends her head a little to one side and looks down at the child, while he turns his face away and looks at someone, who has distracted his attention, with a broad smile. Four small angels float on either side of the Madonna's head in silent adoration, and above, God the Father descends to give her his blessing. The Madonna wears a bright blue mantle and a gold brocade garment; the child is wrapped in a brocaded coverlet, and the angels have light tunics, richly sprinkled with fine, gold ornaments. Even the haloes are more beautifully decorated than usual; one notices especially the conventionalized rose wreath on the Madonna's head which closely resembles the more prominent haloes in the Strozzi altarpiece. Enclosing the whole picture, which is again round arched, runs an ornamental band engraved with small stars.

In style the Madonna approaches most nearly to the St. Catherine of the Strozzi altarpiece: it is the same full, strong figure, the same elongated face with straight nose, long, almond eyes, and wide forehead. The turned rounding of the head is also characteristic, and the big, well formed hands are sufficiently obvious. Both the types and the general style place this picture between the Budapest Madonna and the Strozzi altarpiece. If the former is to be dated in the middle forties and the latter in the middle fifties, this Madonna can be put at about 1350. The sculptural character is here less striking than in the earlier Madonnas, especially on account of the freer compositional form, which produces a softer rhythm of line; the modeling also seems unusually supple and delicate. From the purely pictorial point of view this painting may be designated as one

of Andrea's most important works, and fortunately it has been preserved intact. It is also evident that this Madonna attained special fame, as two different Trecento copies of it exist in Florence. The first, an entirely faithful reproduction done a score of years after Orcagna's picture, is in the Uffizi storeroom. It is in the same form as the original and shows the copyist's attempt at fidelity, but the figure drawing is stiffer. The other copy, which we saw at a Florentine art dealer's some years ago, is a somewhat altered and reduced version (the angels and God the Father are left out), produced by a Florentine painter about 1400. It would be very interesting to know where the original was formerly placed, and whether it was its situation or its unusual artistic merit that gave it its great reputation.

Closely connected in style with the above-mentioned Madonnas is a picture, now in the writer's possession, representing Christ standing in his tomb, supported by Mary, while St. Michael and St. Catherine stand on either side and a bishop saint behind; in front of the tomb kneels the little donor. The picture (Pl. 191) is of a solemn effect and has a deeper emotional quality than the paintings by Andrea we have studied hitherto. The body of Christ appears almost as if carved in stone, and the stately figures surrounding him are also preponderantly statuesque. The coloring, however, is deep and vivid, and the donor who kneels in front of the sarcophagus is evidently a portrait from life. It is a picture in which Andrea's power of monumental design is combined with a greater intensity of feeling than appears in the Madonnas or in the single figures of saints.

The authorship of the master is most clearly proved by the types. St. Catherine is a sister of the Budapest Madonna, and St. Michael is very like the kneeling angel with the portable organ in the same picture. Christ and Mary are practically the same as in the Strozzi altarpiece. The picture should evidently be dated to about the same period in the master's activity or a little earlier, that is to say, to the beginning of the fifties. It forms, in style and composition, a connecting link between the Madonnas and the large altarpieces of which, besides the Strozzi picture, two more are still to be found in Florentine churches: one in Santa Maria Maggiore, the other in the Cappella Bonsi in the Badia.

The picture on the high altar in Santa Maria Maggiore has, remarkably enough, escaped the notice of the authorities and has never been mentioned in the literature of art, though it is situated in one of the most easily accessible churches of Florence. The reason for

this is probably that the picture is usually hidden by a mass of paper flowers and similar gewgaws, strangely regarded by some people as suitable church decoration. Nevertheless the picture is artistically one of the most important altarpieces which have been completely preserved from the middle of the fourteenth century. It represents the Madonna enthroned, in full front, with St. Nicholas, St. Andrew, St. John the Baptist, and St. James on separate panels. Before the throne kneel two angels, one playing on a double flute, the other on a portable organ. The boy is half reclining on his mother's lap, kicking, and trying to grasp Mary's veil. The saints are powerful broad-shouldered figures. St. Nicholas is turned in profile toward the Madonna, the Baptist in full face but pointing inwards with his hand; the two others are turned half-way. The color effect is clear and luminous, as in the best pictures of Orcagna: a tuneful harmony of bright blue, orange, green, and carmine. The halo round the Madonna's head again shows the conventionalized rose wreath. The picture evidently belonged to the same period in the artist's evolution as the Strozzi altarpiece. The full rounding of the types, the modeling of the hands, and the deep colors of the costumes, connect it with the best of Andrea's creations, and allow us to assign it to the artist's most mature period.

The altarpiece in the Cappella Bonsi is not so well preserved, but it derives a special interest from its decidedly architectonic composition. We have reason to believe that it was done somewhat later than any of the pictures hitherto described — probably in the early sixties, when Andrea made extensive use of assistants in the execution of his larger orders. The master himself became, as we know, more and more occupied as years went by with architectural commissions, and consequently he very probably found it necessary to entrust his paintings partly to pupils.

The subject of the picture is the descent of the Holy Spirit (Pl. 192). The figures are divided between three panels, each framed in a round arch. In the middle kneel six apostles in a ring, and in the center of the circle, on an eminence, kneels Mary, in full face, her hands crossed over her breast. She is stiff and hieratic, like a statue; her mantle falls in perpendicular parallel lines from her head down to the ground. On each side of Mary floats a little angel, and over her head the Holy Ghost descends in the form of a dove, from which issue golden rays. Around this dominant, central pillar the apostles, kneeling close round, make a protecting wall, while the other figures in the wings form slanting lines leading up to the main

personage. On all the heads appears the tongue of flame of the Holy Ghost.

It is probable that in the execution of this group the master made use of assistants, especially in the wings. A scrutiny of the types confirms this assumption. The two mighty apostles in the extreme rear, St. Peter and St. John, show close relationship to the kneeling saints in the Strozzi altarpiece; the Madonna is the same woman who has appeared as the Virgin in Orcagna's earlier pictures; but in the wings one traces an evident deviation in the types.

A study of the draping leads to the same conclusion. The mantles of the kneeling apostles in the central panel, especially of the two furthest, are draped in clear, plastic folds, defined with the same admirable sureness that we have described above. The treatment is on the high level of the best that we have hitherto noted in Orcagna's work along these lines. The complete mastery of the artist is, however, less recognizable in this case because the picture is worn and overlaid with dust and smoke. It does not glow with the deep coloring of the Strozzi altarpiece, but looks duller, darker, and heavier. The relatively meager quality of the drapery in the wings can easily be accounted for on the assumption that an assistant was responsible for the execution.

As complements of these big, partly fragmentary altarpieces by Orcagna, one should mention certain smaller paintings which help to illustrate the artist's development and the essential traits of his personality. Especially original is the little picture (Pl. 193) in the Jarves collection in New Haven (formerly ascribed to Simone Martini) which represents the adoration of the Magi. This subject was ordinarily illustrated in horizontally extended pictures, in which the Madonna could be placed at one end and the rest of the picture filled with the advancing kings and their suites. The movement was developed longitudinally. Andrea, however, here broke away completely from the traditional scheme, and worked out his story in the vertical, rather than the horizontal, plane. The main scene takes place half way up the panel, where the Madonna sits under a shed, holding the child on her knee, with the three kings standing or kneeling before her. Below, in the foreground, are gathered the horses and the soldiers; above is the manger, with Joseph watching his ox and his ass; still higher and further away is the hill on which the shepherds receive the glad tidings. All the scenes take place on various levels of a cliff formed in steps. It is exactly the same mode of composition that we find in contemporary terra cotta or marble

reliefs, and is a direct translation into painting of the methods of relief sculpture. This picture alone would be strong evidence that the painter had his fundamental training as a sculptor and continued to think in the manner of a plastic artist rather than of a mere brush-worker.

Our attention is especially attracted by the strikingly plastic treatment of the drapery, particularly in the figures of Mary and the kneeling king. We have here on a small scale the same broken folds that we have seen in Orcagna's larger pictures, for instance in the Strozzi altarpiece. The unusual shape of the picture has perhaps been the reason for a greater attenuation of the figures than is common in Orcagna, but anyone familiar with the master's types can readily recognize them here. The kneeling king is a close relative of the St. Peter in the Strozzi altarpiece, while Mary is a sister of the Virgin in the same picture. But the most interesting figures are the two women, Salome and her friend, who are curiously examining the king's box of myrrh; these figures, as well as the soldiers who are holding the horses and camels, show a faculty for the observation of nature but slightly indicated elsewhere in Orcagna's works. The colors are unusually vivid: red, pink, blue, violet, yellow-green, and gray tones fuse in rich harmony. The execution is as meticulous as in a miniature. To assign a definite date to the picture is very hard; all we can state with certainty is that it was done at a time when the artist had attained complete mastery over his means of expression. It marks the high pitch in Andrea's art so far as decorative design is concerned.

Another interesting little picture by Orcagna is a portion of a predella in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. It represents the birth of the Virgin, and is distinguished by its bright, deep colors. St. Ann lies at full length in bed; in an open hall in front of her the child is being bathed, and two women who come to offer their felicitations are received by a maid-servant. The picture makes the effect of a relief composed in two planes; the figures are of high stature, and their movements are dignified almost to stiffness. The plastic treatment of the folds and the bright red, yellow, green, and blue tones are thoroughly characteristic.

The same general style reappears in a long predella (Pl. 194) in the John G. Johnson collection at Philadelphia. It is divided into three parts; in the center is shown the Adoration of the Magi; on one side the Decollation of St. John the Baptist and the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence; on the other the Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, with

an episode from the legend of another saint. The decorative effect is lively and attractive on account of the brilliant coloring and the clear, orderly arrangement, which fully brings out each figure. The central picture is of interest as an example of Andrea's relief-like method of composition. The scene takes place in an open mountain landscape, built up of shattered rock formations, which run slantwise across the picture, ledge behind ledge. The landscape thus covers a considerable expanse, and the various planes of depth appear very clearly; the figures are relatively small in relation to the scene. The Madonna sits on a mass of rock, with the child on her knees; before her, on a lower shelf of the rock, kneels the oldest Mage. The two younger kings stand talking further to the right, and nearer to the edge of the picture horses and camels are held by grooms. At the other end of the picture sits Joseph, entirely apart and unparticipating, and up in the middle, behind a wall of rock, we see the shepherds and their dog approaching.

The composition is therefore quite unlike the little representation of the Magi in the Jarves collection, yet there is a traceable connection both in the arrangement of the rock foundation and in the types of several of the figures. Joseph, for instance, is practically the same in the two pictures, and the horses and grooms correspond even more closely. Decisive for the attribution of this picture to Andrea is the treatment of drapery, which is strikingly typical, especially in the mantles of the Madonna and the kneeling king. It is, however, probable that several years elapsed between the execution of these two dissimilar conceptions of the Adoration. The Jarves picture is more severe and relief-like than Mr. Johnson's; it is unquestionably earlier. The long predella probably was not painted before the sixties. The compositional forms here show a distinct development away from the predella pictures in the Strozzi altarpiece, and the types connect themselves rather with Orcagna's later than with his earlier works.

The adjoining side panels of this predella, which illustrate the various martyr stories, show notably skilful arrangement of scenes, especially where architectural surroundings are used. The buildings are naturally very much simplified, but they have far more reality than any of the architecture in the pictures of Taddeo or Bernardo Daddi. Andrea's architectonic feeling and knowledge stand out in a striking manner.

The predella pictures in the Strozzi altarpiece are also in a spacious, horizontally extended form. Especially interesting is the central

picture, representing Peter walking on the water, a composition which recalls Giotto's famous "Navicella" in the vestibule of St. Peter's at Rome. The gold background is dominant in all these pictures and gives them an abstract, hieratic character. Some of the figures stand out like silhouettes against the gold. Decorative drawing seems to have been the artist's aim rather than a relief-like construction, a modification which is explained by the placing of the pictures in a big altarwork intended to produce a hieratic, decorative effect.

There is one more altarpiece (Pl. 195), in the Accademia in Florence, now attributed to Andrea Orcagna. In the central panel we see the Virgin Appearing to St. Bernard, and in the wings, two pairs of saints: St. John the Evangelist and St. Benedict, St. Gallanus and St. Quintinus. The predella shows six scenes from the lives of these saints, and in the gables are medallions representing the Annunciation and Christ giving a benediction. The picture attracts attention chiefly because of its unusually luminous coloring: white, bright blue, green, and carmine tones glow against the shining golden ground. In the central picture, where St. Bernard kneels at his lectern looking up at the Madonna who comes floating down accompanied by two angels, the artist has strewn the ground with flowers and put big trees in the background, to indicate the cloister garden where the incident takes place. The faces are typical of Orcagna, and the hands are drawn with remarkable firmness and care, but the figures are crowded together and partly cut off by the frame. The impression of crowding becomes still stronger when we turn our attention to the predella scenes. They have none of the freedom and sureness that we find in the Strozzi altarpiece or in the Johnson predella. The figures overlap and are huddled together without any clear grouping. It is hard to believe that Orcagna can have been personally responsible for these little pictures. They show something of the stiffness and the deficient clarity which appears in the work of Jacopo di Cione. We are therefore inclined to assign this altarpiece to a rather advanced stage of Orcagna's activity, when his younger brothers or other helpers took a considerable part in the execution of his paintings. For purposes of comparison one may mention the beautiful little picture in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, illustrating the Nativity, the Annunciation, and the Entombment, which must be regarded as one of Jacopo di Cione's finest and earliest works. One here finds exactly corresponding figures, drawn in the same slightly stunted and stiffened version of Andrea's style.

It is only natural that we should meet with various pictures in a somewhat weakened or diluted Orcagnesque style, as Orcagna maintained a *bottega* where other assistants besides his brothers were employed. Undoubtedly numerous pictures were executed by two or more of the brothers in collaboration. They are often decorative and attractive because of their splendidly designed forms and rich coloring, but they have no further importance for the study of Andrea Orcagna's personal artistic achievement; so in this connection they may be passed over.

3

THE FRESCOES

IN his concise notes on Orcagna's works Ghiberti, as we have already seen, mentions four series of frescoes in different churches in Florence: "La cappella maggiore" in Santa Maria Novella; "tre magnifiche storie" in Santa Croce; "due cappelle" in Santa Maria dei Servi; "uno rifettorio" in Santo Spirito (formerly Sant Agostino). Of these four series the frescoes in Santa Maria Novella and in Santa Maria dei Servi are no longer in existence; the first was damaged by lightning and subsequently covered with new paintings by Domenico Ghirlandajo, and the Santa Maria dei Servi frescoes were presumably destroyed when the church itself was rebuilt. Fortunately the fate of the Santa Croce and Santo Spirito paintings has not been quite so hard: they are not well preserved, to be sure, but there remains enough of them to give a definite impression of the master's ability as a monumental decorator. Thus despite their fragmentary condition they still hold an important place among Orcagna's works and they are the more interesting because they are so little known. The Santo Spirito frescoes have never been connected with the master in modern times.

The fragments remaining of the "tre magnifiche storie" in Santa Croce were discovered during the restoration of the church in 1911, when part of the sixteenth-century plaster was removed from the walls and some of the large altarpieces by Florentine academicians of Vasari's time were taken down. Behind the fifth of these pictures (a baroque composition by Minga), about the middle of the right aisle, several very expressive figures were uncovered, which evidently had once formed part of a "Trionfo della Morte," (Pl. 196) and thanks to the description in Vasari of Orcagna's compositions in this place, it was easy to identify them. Vasari says of Orcagna, "In Florence he continued his labors, painting a very large fresco on one of the walls to the right in the church of Santa Croce, near the center. The subject of this work is that which he had previously treated in the Campo Santo of Pisa, in three similar divisions, but the story of St. Macarius, exhibiting the dead kings, and that of the hermits on the mountain is omitted. Repeating all the other parts of the Pisan pictures, he executed the Florentine work with improved design and greater care than he had bestowed on that of Pisa, but pursuing a similar plan as to the composition, as well as in manner, inscriptions,

and other accessories; in this respect the only change was in the portraits from life, those of the Florentine picture portraying his friends on one side, whom he placed in Paradise, and his enemies on the other, who were placed in Inferno."

This fragment, now brought to light, was evidently the portion at the extreme left of a representation of the triumph of Death. It is about four meters high, but scarcely more than a meter long. Across the middle of the picture runs a wide gap, cut in the plaster to make room for the beam which held up the huge altarpiece that was put in place when the church was restored in the sixteenth century.

The painting shows a group of lame, halt, and blind, diseased and emaciated beggars, who eagerly await death. From one of them issues the following verse:

"Dacchê prosperitade ci a lasciati
Ho morte, medicina d'ogni pena, deh, vien
Ci dare omai l'ultima cena!"

(Since prosperity has left us,
Oh Death, cure for every ill, come then
And give us finally the last supper!)

Their longing is in vain — Death comes not as a liberator but as an avenger. Man's wishes do not control his flight. It is the strong, the good, and the energetic whom he harvests first: at the feet of the beggars and cripples we see a nun, a cardinal and a knight lying dead. They lie limp on their backs with their eyes closed; the types are none the less marked, though not to the same degree as in the cripples, whose starved and sunken faces seize us with irresistible pathos, and attest a character painter of high rank.

Higher up on the wall there are painted buildings which are falling apart, presumably as the result of an earthquake. The city walls crumble, towers totter, the sides of houses split — men flee in terror. Although only a few suggestive elements remain of the representation of this catastrophe, the impression is strong and convincing. The cataclysm of nature brings out the helplessness of man in all its nakedness. Death triumphs not only in the reaping of separate individuals but also in the devastating outbreaks of the elements.

It is vain to speculate as to what this composition in its entirety may have been like, as only small fragments remain, but at least it gives reason to believe Vasari's statement that Orcagna's frescoes in Santa Croce corresponded, in the main, to the famous illustrations of the Triumph of Death in the Campo Santo in Pisa, although the relation between these series was plainly the opposite of what Vasari

asserts; it was not the Campo Santo paintings which were the originals, but the frescoes in Santa Croce. The greater power of the latter, which is remarked by Vasari, is clearly shown in the surviving fragments. If we compare the cripples in Santa Croce with the corresponding figures furthest to the left in the Campo Santo Triumph, we cannot fail to recognize the superiority of the former, both in spiritual characterization and in plastic form value. These gaunt and hollow-eyed faces look as if they had been cast in bronze; they have a plastic firmness and sharpness which only a master like Orcagna could attain. The impression of suffering and longing has a stamp of greatness and nobility which is not to be found in the figures in the Campo Santo. These later works appear almost like caricatures beside the Santa Croce frescoes — the types are exaggerated, the expressions grimacing, the movements forced.

The comparison clearly reveals that the Santa Croce frescoes must have been painted by a greater master than those in the Campo Santo, and it also serves to bring out characteristics which justify the ascription of the Florentine series to Orcagna. Who painted the frescoes in Pisa is a question that need not detain us at this juncture, and in what measure this artist used Orcagna's paintings as models is now impossible to determine owing to the small portion of the older paintings which survive. Very probably the composition showed several important deviations from the scenes we can now study in the Campo Santo, even if the main features were the same. The ghastly witch who floats down with a raised scythe, fulfilling the function of Death, was surely mightier and more terrible in Santa Croce; the contrast between the sufferers longing for release and the care-free youths and maidens who are cut off in the midst of life's joys was still more dramatic — the impression was deepened by the raging cataclysms of nature.

The decorative value of this stirring composition was certainly very high. The artist's architectonic quality of design gives us reason to assume that he here accomplished something of extraordinary importance. We can only express the hope that larger portions of these frescoes may still be uncovered.

The old church and cloister of Santo Spirito, or Sant Agostino, as it was called when it belonged to the Augustinian order, was one of the centers of Florentine Trecento painting. Early authorities like Ghiberti, "Billi," Vasari, etc., mention important frescoes by Giotto's principal followers (Stefano, Taddeo Gaddi, Maso, Giottino, Orcagna, etc.), in this church. The loss of all these pictures is one of

the most serious obstacles to a reconstruction of the history of the Florentine art of the period.

The rebuilding of old Santo Spirito is known to have been begun according to Brunelleschi's plans, but whether the cloisters were included in Brunelleschi's scheme we do not know. In any case a more complete reconstruction became necessary after the great fire of 1471. The church was immediately restored in the closest possible conformity to Brunelleschi's plans, but the cloisters were not completed until the sixteenth century, by Alfonso Parigi and Bartolommeo Ammanati. What may possibly have survived of the older art of the fourteenth century was then lost, and in its place appeared examples of Poccetti's flimsy, opera-foyer painting.

There remains, however, not far from the church a little annex which, to judge from the architecture, was built at the same time as the original church at the end of the thirteenth century. It is a long, narrow room with a high, sloping roof and small, Gothic windows. From the indications of one of the fragments of fresco still remaining, this served in former times as the refectory, and plainly is the room to which Ghiberti refers in his notes when he writes, "*è dipinto uno rifettorio ne' frati di Sant Agostino.*"

The room has meanwhile suffered from vandalism. It evidently has been used as a storehouse, and has been divided into two stories by a flooring built across the middle. The great holes made for the beams gape spectrally in the walls, as though crying out in sorrow at man's lack of reverence for mighty works of art. At present the room is the workshop of the Florentine sculptor Romanelli.

It is easy to understand that the paintings which originally decorated this room should not be in especially good condition, considering what they have suffered not only from the tooth of time but from the hand of man. Yet, enough remains to afford a basis for stylistic criticism, and it is plain that the original composition, even in the city of monumental paintings, was one of the most glorious.

It is a representation of the Crucifixion (Pl. 197), which extended clear across one of the end walls and reached from the point of the roof down to within three or four meters of the ground. Beneath the Crucifixion is the Last Supper (Pl. 198), represented in the usual Trecento manner, with Christ and all the apostles in a row along one side of the table; at each end of the picture there has been a saint in a separate niche. Only two figures from the Last Supper now remain, the two who were sitting furthest to the right — one in full face, one in profile — the others have been destroyed, some by

the piercing of a large door in the middle of the wall, some by the more recent erection of a small cupboard against the wall on the left side. Of the two separate saints, only the one on the right is preserved, a powerful Augustinian in a shell-covered niche.

The splendid Crucifixion is dominated by the lofty wide-spreading cross. None of the figures on the ground reaches as high as Christ's feet. He looms up like a great, gray shadow over their heads; the contours have been faded by time, and the mighty figure looks all the larger, even more overpowering than before, because the *pentimenti* around him run together with the actual drawing. The scale of the Christ is at least a third larger than that of the other figures. The position is somewhat stiff; he seems rather to be standing on the support under his feet than hanging by the arms. The breast, body, and legs are summarily drawn, without any particular movement in the lines. The face appears vaguely through the thick layers of dust; it is bent sharply forward, with deeply shadowed eyes — one can discern, with effort, the expression of pain.

In symmetrical array on each side of Christ hover ten angels, some catching his blood in cups, some expressing their despair in the traditional manner by tearing the front of their garments and wringing their hands. But we find no trace here of any such frantic unrestrained grief as in Giotto's Crucifixions. These angels are much stiffer, and their trailing mantles are draped in plastic folds more or less suggesting bronze casting. Their symmetrical arrangement recalls such compositions in sculpture as Orcagna's large Assumption in Or San Michele. In fact a closer comparison between the angels in the fresco and those in the marble tabernacle affords strong support for the attribution of the two works to the same master.

Beneath the cross runs a great horizontal composition, its contours rising gradually toward both sides, up to the heads of the mounted soldiers, and dipping down in the middle, where the figures stand round the foot of the cross. Here we see on the left the women of Jerusalem clustering together in timid anxiety, and in front of them, standing a little lower down, the relatives of Christ, the Marys and John, of whom only the heads are preserved. On the other side of the cross the helmets of the foot-soldiers gleam through the darkness. They form only a small group between the cross and their mounted comrades, who, led by Longinus, advance from the right in closed ranks. In the foreground below the riders (furthest to the right) is a separate group of the men who cast lots for Christ's garment. As

counterpoise to all these soldiers we see on the other side, behind the women, a few mounted men. The first of these, in a pure white garment with a halo round his head, sits reverently praying; he is perhaps the counselor Nicodemus, who, however, is not usually represented riding. Behind him we see four horsemen, in pairs, the two first in helmets and buff coats, the others dressed more like citizens. Of the figures standing in front of these so little is left that it is hard to recognize their particular character. Very likely they were, as usual, the Jews, slinking off in fear when the Crucified gives up the ghost and the sun is darkened. Two little boys are introduced into the foreground, in the true Giottesque manner, as if to heighten the impression of actuality of the great throng.

None of these many people makes a vehement motion or an excited gesture — they are dazed with horror and fear, and remain in silent grief. Only Longinus raises his long, mailed arm, designating Christ to his companions: "*ille Filius Dei.*" The rider immediately beside him is turned with his back to the beholder, and his horse is shown in foreshortening from behind, a remarkably hard problem in perspective that no earlier artist had ventured to attack. The women express their emotion by mild and subdued gestures. One raises her hand in the usual manner, the palm turned out; a few others lay their hands across their breasts, like Simone's and Ambrogio's women, and an old woman clenches her fist convulsively, as though to repress an outburst of agony. Her brows are knitted in pain, and the corners of her mouth are quivering with agitation. St. John is the only one who gives audible utterance to his grief; violent sobs distort his features, as he looks down, probably at Mary, who lies in a swoon — but she has entirely disappeared from the picture.

Among the women we recognize several types closely resembling the Madonnas by Orcagna previously described. The well rounded face with narrow, almond eyes and straight, prominent nose is very evident in several of the women, particularly in those furthest to the right, turned in profile or half-profile. The types are very uniform and are remarkable less for emotional expression than for plastic form values.

The mounted soldiers on either side of the cross sit stiff and proud on their tall Roman horses, in long ranks that run slanting into the foreground. They wear jerkins of dark green and rusty red, their helmets and shirts of mail glittering with the dull gleam of steel. Over their heads streams a great red banner like a warning "*Mene*

tekel" in the dark night sky. The foot-soldiers, similarly dressed, some of whom carry long shields, gather in a dense circle and bend their helmeted heads to follow the drawing of the deciding lot. In both groups one recognizes the straight, clearcut profiles, like those, for instance, of the Strozzi altarpiece; a similar correspondence exists between the soldiers in full face in the fresco and the Christ and the St. John in the Strozzi painting. The large, well formed hands are also noticeable; they entirely accord with what we have seen in several of Orcagna's panels. The draping of the mantles is broad and clear, but the folds are so far effaced by wear that it is no longer possible to base an attribution on them. Still, as far as we can distinguish it, the treatment of folds seems to sustain the prevailing Orcagnesque character of the painting. The impressively monumental effect of this great composition rests in the first place on the clearness and unity of the disposition of mass. There is hardly any question here of dramatic centralization. The different groups form separate parts which are ranged alongside of each other without any special connecting members, although there is a certain emotional unity. One feels that the whole was conceived with full appreciation of the majesty and sublimity of the subject. Without using pathetic gestures or violent motions, and despite his strict, almost stiff, continuity of line and his deficient dramatic concentration, the artist has succeeded in producing an emotional effect unsurpassed in monumental grandeur by any other Florentine representation of the Crucifixion.

Looking down at the fresco below, which shows the two apostles from the Last Supper and the solitary saint in his niche, one is struck more forcibly than ever by the plastic quality of the figures. One apostle is shown in full face, with raised hands; the other turns his face toward the center, while his body remains in full front, and crosses his hands over his breast. Both appear isolated, unconnected emotionally, taking no interest in the great drama in which they are supposed to be playing parts; they are impressive only because of their clear, broad forms.

The Augustinian who stands in the niche with a book and a staff in his hands is more like a portrait — he reminds us in this respect of the kneeling St. Thomas Aquinas in the Strozzi altarpiece — but the main quality here again is the supreme realization of tridimensional form standing free in space. The niche with its classical shell looks almost like a Renaissance composition. This detail brings out very strongly the artist's architectural training, and the construction of

the hall in which the Last Supper takes place corroborates this evidence. The whole composition must once have been solemn and monumental in effect, due largely to the clear space design and the statuesque appearance of the isolated figures.

We have reason to assume that all this splendid fresco decoration was done to the order of a member of the family of Cambi di Napoleone, whose arms, a black bend on a red and gold field, appear twice in each side of the frame of the Crucifixion.¹

According to Passerini's genealogical notes in the Biblioteca Nazionale, the first head of the Cambi di Napoleone family, Neri di Cambio, moved from Borgo San Sepolcro to Florence in 1347, and died there in 1355. His son, Filippo di Neri, seems to have been an influential cloth manufacturer, who was married in 1375 and died in 1385. As we know of no other member of the family at that period, it was presumably one of these two who ordered the frescoes. One might suppose that these were done according to the will of the elder, but if this was the case there must have been a delay of some years before his bequest was put into effect, as on stylistic grounds the paintings cannot be dated much before 1360.

The frescoes (Pl. 199) in the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, which have often been attributed to Andrea, were not executed by him but by his older brother. Ghiberti says expressly that Nardo painted "La Cappella del Inferno" for the Strozzi family, and a closer study of the paintings only strengthens the conviction that the critical annotator was right. Andrea may have collaborated, but the figure style is essentially Nardo's; we must, therefore, study them in connection with Nardo's other work.

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The paintings which we have considered should have given us some idea of Andrea's individual style and artistic development. He started, presumably, as a sculptor, but he evidently devoted his best years to painting. In his big altarpieces and Madonnas he appears as one of the most independent and purposeful of all the Florentine Trecento painters, a master whose artistic responsibility never allowed him to lapse into the empty routine and stenciled repetition of which so many of his contemporaries were guilty. He was, besides,

¹ This family also possessed two altars in Santo Spirito; one was given up to the monks in 1694, and the other passed to Cavaliere Settiman. The arms of the family are among those that appear on the exterior of the side wall of the church. At the end of the fifteenth century the Cambi di Napoleone arms were altered by the insertion of a double eagle, the special emblem of the Greek emperors. See also Rietstap, *Armorial Général*, i, 358.

the first—after Giotto—of that many-sided type which became usual later, in the full Renaissance; the only Trecento artist of whom we can say with certainty that he was as distinguished as a sculptor and an architect as he was as a painter. The training that he received as a builder and a sculptor may also be traced, as we have seen, in his painting, and it should be emphasized that this is one of the reasons for his leading position in the specifically Florentine school which was practically untouched by Siennese influence. Orcagna is often mentioned as the best pupil of Giotto (he was hardly a pupil of Giotto in the literal sense) and the first master of the great Renaissance class. Crowe and Cavalcaselle call him “a universal genius,” and add that “had he lived at a time when perspective had become a science, he might have been numbered among the greatest artists of his country.” Fortunately ignorance of the laws of perspective is no absolute barrier to artistic greatness (in fact the reverse has sometimes been the case), and if we endorse the first part of the appreciation we may well omit the qualifying clause. Orcagna’s art is especially interesting because it manifests the Florentine spirit in unusually pure and striking form; it reveals a fundamentally plastic conception of material phenomena, with comparatively little of that pictorial fluency which becomes prevalent in the later part of the century.

XIV

NARDO DI CIONE

1

FRESCO PAINTINGS

NARDO DI CIONE'S full Christian name, according to Milanesi, was Leonardo (Vasari however calls him Bernardo).¹ He is said to have been the elder brother of Andrea Orcagna, but he appears later than Andrea in the rolls of the "Arte dei Medici e Speziali": the year of his inscription has been fixed at approximately 1345, whereas Andrea's enrolment took place a year or two before. In 1355, on the last day of October, "Leonardus Cionis populi Sancti Laurentii" matriculated in the "Arte dei maestri di pietre e legnami." On May 21, 1365, Nardo is making his will, "corpore languens," and as the same year appears after his name in the rolls of the Guild of St. Luke, it is evident that he died before it was over. He was apparently unmarried, because in the following year his three brothers, Andrea, Jacopo, and Matteo, are mentioned as his "eredi universali."

Nardo does not seem to have been as versatile a genius as Andrea. We know nothing of his activity as an architect or a sculptor, and his painting bears convincing evidence that his style was formed not in the *bottega* of a carver, but entirely in the exercise of the profession of painting. His later work is distinguished by a remarkably sure grasp of the specifically pictorial problems of light and color.

The starting-point for a study of Nardo's style must be taken in the Cappella Strozzi, as these are the only frescoes of his named by Ghiberti. Elsewhere we are limited to stylistic comparisons; no signed works by Nardo have as yet been discovered.

The subject of these frescoes is the Last Judgment, but the artist has in some degree subordinated the main incident in order to elaborate in great detail the ecstasies of the blessed and the torments of the damned (Pl. 200). Highest up above the big, Gothic window in the end wall of the chapel appears Christ in a radiating aureole, sur-

¹ Cf. Milanesi's notes to Vasari's *Vita di Andrea Orcagna*, ed. Sansoni, p. 591, and Karl Frey, *Loggia dei Lanzi*, p. 101.

rounded by trumpeting angels. On both sides of the window sit the apostles in two rows, one above the other, three in each row, with their attributes and books of doom in their hands. As connecting links between the heavenly judge and this solemn jury kneel on one side the Virgin and on the other St. John the Baptist, looking up pleadingly at Christ. Below these big and powerful figures the composition is continued on both sides of the window by troops of the blessed and the damned, crowded together in the relatively small spaces between the window and the side walls. The figures, which are drawn in considerably smaller scale than Christ and the apostles, are arranged in four successive rows, one above the other; one can hardly speak of any real composition. To be sure the artist tried to produce a little variety in the attitudes, placing some of the figures in profile, some in full face, and even one with his back turned, but the narrow space does not seem to have allowed any other disposition than this arrangement in steps. This scheme has made it possible for the artist to maintain the theological classification and separate into successive stages the various categories, both among the blessed and the damned, which were part of the framework of mediaeval representations of heaven and hell. Among the blessed the patriarchs take the highest place, followed by cardinals, bishops, and poets; beneath them stand secular rulers and monks; lowest of all, ordinary citizens and the women who have attained salvation. On the side of the damned there is a corresponding distinction between heretics, heathen, malefactors, misers, and other varieties of unbelieving and sinful men.

It is, however, neither the arrangement of the composition nor its literary and theological meaning which interests us, but the characterization of the individual figures. Many of these representatives of various classes and spheres of life are not only distinct types but actual portraits. The profile of Dante among the blessed has attained great fame; beside him stand two other figures of equally striking individuality. The women, on the contrary, are of rather uniform type: small, round faces with long eyes, low foreheads and have light hair. Their expression is gentle and dreamy, not without womanly charm. The artist has been much more successful in the indication of the mild and happy state of the blessed than of the torment and anguish of the damned. His temperament seems to have been more lyric than dramatic; he had not the power of instilling any tragic grandeur into the representation of the agony of lost souls.

We could confirm these observations by a survey of the big paintings that entirely cover the side walls of the chapel — on one hand a marshaling of all the terrors of hell and on the other an array of the quiet delights of heavenly bliss. The representation of hell has won special fame as a faithful illustration of Dante's *Inferno*; it is undeniably entertaining in its detailed completeness, but it can hardly be accorded any great artistic importance. As it has been entirely repainted, it no longer has any value for the study of Nardo's method of expression. So far as we know, this painting was the first large picture of hell in direct conformity with Dante's description.

If the much subdivided hell fresco, with its many compartments enclosed by curving rock ridges, suggests a vast map, the corresponding paradise fresco (Pl. 201) looks like a big tapestry. It is quite flat, as though hung against the wall, not intended to produce any illusion of reality but merely to decorate an otherwise blank wall. The painting consists of a series of thirteen successive, overlapping, horizontal bands, of which only the bottom one is completely visible. The others consist of half-length figures rising behind each other. The dominating central axis is accentuated by the large throne at the top, where Christ and Mary are placed, and by the free space before the throne, which is only partly filled by two kneeling angel musicians. The long, horizontal rows are thus broken in the middle, except for the two lowest planes, which are continuous all the way across the wall. The decorative effect of the whole depends mainly upon the unified rhythm of line, the clear opposition of horizontals and verticals, which dominates the design. To this is added the light and harmonious play of color which certainly was once still more vivacious, because the picture is covered with dust and dirt, and some parts, especially the figures at the middle of the bottom, have been freely and carelessly repainted.

The artist has here, as in the *Last Judgment*, arranged the figures according to the traditional, hierarchical classification, placing the holiest and most venerable at the top, and then ranging row after row of the various classes of the blessed, gradually decreasing in saintliness and hieratic importance (Pl. 202). Thus the two lowest rows comprise only women — the least holy, but the most beautiful — virginal figures with light wavy hair and charming faces. Here even the attendant angels are excluded, the heavenly servants who in the upper rows are placed between the blessed, most of them carrying instruments — mandolins, zithers, sackbuts, portable organs, etc. — for the delight of the elect. The bliss of those who have attained

salvation is like delicious heavenly music, a dream of beauty and harmony, a state of rapture, not of life or action. Nothing happens here; the representation is entirely abstract, timeless and spaceless, borne along by the lofty poetry of the vision of beatitude. The only deviation from this actionless existence which the artist has so marvelously suggested is produced by an angel in the foreground, leading a knight and a nun to join the blessed.

If from this general impression of the decorative design one proceeds to a study of individual figures, one observes that the artist has brought out with great care and unusual skill the characteristic features and temperaments. Particularly among the older men there are some portrait-like heads. The others show more unified types; the angels are all brothers — their full, oval faces, framed by fair, waving hair, show little variation. Among the men one notices a bearded type with broad forehead, short, straight nose, and small mouth, which especially when turned in full front, is powerful and striking. The deep expression in the eyes, the furrowed brow, and the firmly closed mouth, give a stamp of thoughtfulness and decision. The male as well as the female types are very distinctive, easily distinguishable from those of contemporaneous masters.

The figures, when they appear complete, are tall; the round heads look small on the towering bodies. Remarkably good light-modeling gives them a soft roundness, and sometimes contributes pictorial charm. They differ from the more sculpturally treated bodies which we have seen in Orcagna paintings. In brief, one can here detect an individual style and a feeling for form which must be regarded as characteristic of Nardo, and made the basis for further attributions.

In 1910 there were discovered in the Badia in Florence some fragments of Trecento frescoes, in a little recess behind a later wall, which formed a part of the ancient Cappella Giochi e Bastari. The discovery aroused considerable interest and was published at length by Peleo Bacci in an article in the *Bolletino d'Arte* (January, 1911), where the author tries to prove that the frescoes in question are fragments of paintings which the famous Buffalmacco is said to have executed in this chapel. Vasari gives a detailed description of these frescoes, which represented scenes from the Passion, and particularly emphasizes the realistic representations of Pilate in prison and Judas hanging from a tree (Pl. 203). Vasari's high opinion seems entirely justified by what has been brought to light: the hanging Judas and Pilate peering through the bars of his cell are unusually

graphic and fascinating for early Trecento work. There remain besides only a few fragments (Pl. 204) of Christ Carrying the Cross and some figures from the Crucifixion. Unquestionably these are the very pictures that served as the basis for Vasari's enthusiastic praise of Buffalmaco.

Vasari is by no means a dependable authority when it comes to Trecento painters. It is well known that the good Aretine created more confusion than order in the history of Florentine Trecento art by publishing a mass of anecdotes and statements that are, to say the least, doubtful, about the works of the older masters. We cannot as a rule depend on his assertions except when they are corroborated by earlier writers such as Ghiberti or the anonymous author of the *Libro di Antonio Billi*. But neither of these has anything to say about the frescoes in the Cappella Giochi e Bastari. When, furthermore, we find that Vasari has given misleading information about the pictures in another chapel in the same church, we have every reason to take his statements about Buffalmaco's work with a grain of salt. Vasari tells us that Puccio Capanna painted in the Cappella Covone in the Badia, but as was shown in the chapter on "Maso," the fragments which remain of this decoration are the work of a painter considerably later than Puccio Capanna.

Unfortunately we lack any definite standard of judgment for Buffalmaco's style.¹ The frescoes in the Badia at Settimo, which are ascribed to him by several of the older authorities, are so badly worn that they can hardly be made the basis of any further attributions. It seems evident from historical allusions that Buffalmaco was already a famous artist at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and that he executed frescoes for the cloister of the Faentine nuns in Florence (Monistero delle donne di Faenza) in the years 1314-17. The artist therefore seems to have been only a little younger than Giotto, and in any case a member of an earlier generation than Taddeo, Bernardo Daddi, and Orcagna. His art cannot have been further developed along the lines of naturalistic and pictorial expression than that of these masters, for even the greatest geniuses of Trecento painting plainly show to which epoch they belong. The gradual progress in Florentine painting in the period from 1300 to 1380 is so clearly marked in all the painters whose work has been

¹ As already stated we believe that there are good reasons for the identification of Buffalmaco with the so-called St. Cecilia-master, but the closer discussion of this hypothesis must be left for another occasion.

preserved to our day that we rarely are left in doubt as to the approximate date of a painting, even when we cannot designate the individual master.

The fragments in question in the Cappella Giochi e Bastari exhibit, as we have said, a particularly free, naturalistic manner of representation and a pictorial treatment of form which plainly indicates that they were done after the middle of the fourteenth century. The masterpiece, Judas Hanging from a Tree and Pilate in Prison — which is part of the same picture — attest a study of nature which exceeds anything that Taddeo Gaddi achieved in that field. The weight of the dangling man is well rendered, and his belly burst asunder with the bowels gushing out is a motif which no painter of Giotto's generation would have undertaken. In the representation of Christ on the way to Golgotha there appears in addition to the main figure a stalwart warrior, who with drawn sword drives away the three women, Mary and her companions, from the side of the falling Christ. As the figures are only partially preserved, we cannot get any idea of what the compositions were like. If we attempt an attribution based on criticism of style, we are therefore limited to the types and the treatment of form in the separate figures. We lay special stress on two different masculine types. One, which is exemplified by Pilate and some of the fragmentary figures in the Crucifixion, is rather round and full with a broad forehead, short, straight nose, and small mouth; the other, which is most plainly shown by Judas and the warrior with the drawn sword, is somewhat more elongated, with a broad forehead, prominent nose, and pointed chin. Both these types occur in several of the figures in Nardo's paintings in the Strozzi Chapel. The round type is the commoner, as we have previously pointed out; the thinner type can be found, for instance, in the apostle James, who sits to the left in the top row in the Last Judgment (to mention only one easily identified example). The woman who is shown in full front in the illustration of Christ bearing the cross has the same full, facial oval, the same characteristic drawing of eyes, nose, and mouth, as the angels among the elect. The noble face of Christ, seen somewhat from the side, recurs among the apostles in the first rank, near the kneeling Mary in the Last Judgment. The figures are throughout big and tall, their heads small in proportion to their bodies; a certain stiffness marks their movements. They are the same kind of figures as in Nardo's frescoes.

As far as one can judge from the remaining fragments, which are all more or less worn, the pictorial rendering of form has again had the

same relatively soft character which we have observed in Nardo's authentic works. The correspondences in style are on the whole such that we cannot avoid the conclusion that the interesting Badia frescoes are also to be reckoned among Nardo's works.

We find further confirmation of our attribution in the frescoes from the life of the Virgin, which are situated in the cloister at Santa Maria Novella, just outside the Cappella Strozzi. These frescoes (Pl. 205) have already been assigned to Nardo by several students (Suida, Venturi, etc.). They represent the message of the angel to Joachim, the meeting of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate, the nativity of the Virgin, and the presentation in the temple. The rest of the series is destroyed. Though these paintings are in rather poor condition in some of them, such as the Meeting and the Presentation, we can still clearly distinguish Nardo's characteristic figure drawing and his well formed types. The tall forms in the Presentation — the high priest on the temple terrace and the spectators at the foot of the steps — directly recall the foremost figures in the Strozzi Paradise, and on the other hand, Christ and the man with the sword in the Badia frescoes. These frescoes have still greater interest as testimony of Nardo's ability to produce naturalistic representations in a remarkably free, pictorial form. Joachim receives the tidings from the angel, sitting in a wide mountain landscape with a strikingly actual atmosphere of nature. The Nativity has an intimate genre-character, and in the Presentation the artist has successfully solved the architectural problem presented by the obliquely drawn temple steps and terrace. If one compares these illustrations of the life of Mary with Taddeo Gaddi's pictures of the same subjects in the Cappella Baroncelli, one finds that Nardo has attained clearer and more satisfactory compositional forms than the older master. His unusual power of observation stands out, for instance, in the characterization of the two chatting shepherd boys who follow Joachim to the Golden Gate. Here we have the same realistic characterization which was so strikingly manifest in the representation of the hanging Judas, in the Badia Chapel.

Nardo was obviously one of the most distinguished and most sought-after of the fresco painters of Florence about the middle of the fourteenth century. He made freer use of the pictorial means of expression than any of the artists we have studied hitherto. He could be solemn and monumental when he so desired, and he could also paint graphically and descriptively when the subject gave opportunity. But in all these works we can trace the firm drawing

of the figures and the sure handling of drapery which make him a worthy brother of Andrea. He combines the good quality of Orcagna's figure style with a finer interpretation of the purely pictorial elements of light and atmosphere and a more naturalistic method of composition.

We have no fixed dates for these various frescoes, but we may fairly assume that they fall within the fifties or the earlier part of the next decade. Possibly the Strozzi frescoes are a little earlier than the paintings in the cloister and the Badia series, although the different nature of the works hardly permits us to trace any definite course of development. All these big sets of frescoes must, however, belong to the artist's ripest period.

2

EASEL PICTURES

NARDO's art shows the same general origin as Andrea's; both received deciding influence from Bernardo Daddi, but Nardo attaches to a somewhat earlier stage in Bernardo's development than his brother, which is only natural, considering his greater age. It is furthermore probable that Nardo devoted himself to painting at an earlier age than Andrea, who at the outset seems to have spent most of his artistic energy on sculpture. But in the course of years there undoubtedly took place continuous artistic intercourse between the two brothers; which of them contributed most is now hard to determine. The principal difference is that Nardo does not show such a marked taste as Andrea for sculptural construction and a relief-like form of composition. His paintings have a more purely decorative quality.

One of the best examples of Nardo's easel pictures is the large Madonna (Pl. 206) now in the New York Historical Society's collection (formerly in the Artaud de Montor and the Bryan collections). The Virgin is sitting in full front, holding the naked child standing on her left knee. Her throne is covered with a brocade of the bird and palmetto pattern which recurs in several of Nardo's paintings. In the foreground stand St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, and on either side, St. Zenobius and Santa Reparata, two local saints, whose presence proves that the picture was painted for some Florentine church. The composition is entirely built up of longitudinal lines converging over the head of the Madonna, in harmony with the gradual narrowing of the pointed arch of the frame. The restrained and solemn rhythm of line gives a hieratic impression. The color scheme is deep and sumptuous: Mary's blue mantle lined with ermine and the carmine garment under it stand out against the brocade covering; the two saints at the sides wear brocade mantles of a red and black pattern on a gold ground. The evangelist has a cinnabar mantle, and the Baptist's is dark violet. The color harmony is of the same solemn character as the design, deep and strong like organ music. The conception has throughout — particularly in the characterization of the youthful Virgin — a poetic undertone recalling that of the Paradise fresco in the Cappella Strozzi.

Two smaller Madonnas (Pl. 207), which presumably were once the central panels in domestic altars, are similar in composition to those

described above. One belongs to Mr. D. F. Platt in Englewood, N. J. The Madonna is here presented sitting on a throne which is set back a little into the picture; on either side stand two saints, John the Baptist and Francis, Peter and Catherine; behind the throne are two angels. The Madonna is in full front and holds the child, on her right arm, in a rather uncomfortable position. Mary's bearing is severe, but the picture none the less has a somewhat more intimate tone than the larger altarpieces, chiefly owing to the arrangement of the saints and angels in a closer circle round the throne, producing a better effect of space than in the big pictures.

The other Madonna (Pl. 207), which belongs to a private collection in Stockholm, is of somewhat larger size and in a better state of preservation. The Virgin is here again shown in full front and maintains a hieratic bearing, but the child is a more lively *bambino*, restlessly kicking and reaching out toward a female saint at the side of the throne. Four angels are holding a drapery of pure gold behind the Madonna, and in front of her stand six saints. The color effect is sumptuous: both the mother and the child are wearing red garments; her mantle is a deep azure; the angels and the saints have deep-toned tunics and mantles and their broad haloes are richly ornamented. The whole picture thus gives the effect of a glimmering mosaic. The execution is distinguished by unusual refinement and accuracy.

A third Madonna of the same class, though smaller and not so well preserved, belongs to Mr. Grenville L. Winthrop in New York. This has on the base a date of which nothing is now legible except: "ANNO DOMINI MCCC. . . ."

In these small Madonnas it is not hard to trace Nardo's connection with Bernardo Daddi, who painted several little altarpieces with enthroned Madonnas in full front surrounded by attendant angels and saints. We may, for instance, cite in comparison Bernardo's little triptych in the Accademia in Siena, dated 1336. The composition of the central leaf shows noteworthy correspondences with Nardo's picture in the Platt collection, although the figures are there more numerous than in Bernardo's altarpiece and the space composition is better developed. Nardo was probably as little influenced as his brother Andrea by the Sienese masters who had such profound effect on Daddi, but he none the less shows more interest in the pictorial solution of the problem of space.

Nardo's connection with Bernardo Daddi is further illustrated by the fact that several modern authorities have attributed one of his most characteristic, large altarpieces to Bernardo. We refer to the large Coronation of the Virgin (Pl. 208) in the Ionides collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Christ, in an azure mantle, with both hands places the conical crown on the head of the Queen of Heaven, who sits beside him, clad in snow white. Corresponding types may easily be found in the Paradise fresco, especially among the beatified maidens on the right side. Although we can here trace Orcagnesque elements in the figure drawing and the types, we cannot fail to notice the inferiority of this work to what we have previously seen of Andrea's, both in the figures and in the treatment of drapery. Something of the powerful structure is lacking, and not a little of the plastic sharpness and clarity on which we have laid special emphasis in Orcagna's painting.

All Nardo's pictures hitherto considered must belong to a period which cannot be extended much beyond the middle fifties. They reveal his connection with the older generation, and display, on the whole, a more rigid style than, for instance, the frescoes in the Badia in Florence. There are, however, certain other pictures, both large and small, connected in style with Nardo's work, which evidently must be dated later than the fifties.

The most interesting of these is the little domestic altar in Sir Hubert Parry's collection at Highnam Court, which represents the Madonna surrounded by eight saints, and on the wings the Nativity and the Crucifixion, and in the gable the Annunciation. The Madonna is placed on a throne raised on a high base; two angels hold a brocade behind her. A rather large space is left free in front, so that the saints, standing in pairs on either side, have plenty of room. They are placed along the depth diagonals, and thus lead the eye up to the Madonna; the back pairs of saints are at the same angles. A distinct third dimension is thus indicated, and attention is concentrated on the Madonna, who is at the intersection of the diagonals. Mary's face wears a slight smile, and she tries to hold back the child, who is reaching for St. Peter's big keys.¹

The Nativity, which is illustrated on one of the wings, also shows a remarkably good space composition. The scene is as usual a rocky height divided into unequal ledges: at the bottom sits Joseph sleeping, his chin in his hands; a little higher up is Mary, pressing the swaddled child to her breast; higher still, behind the shed, we see the

¹ The child's head and the hands of the Madonna are repainted.

shepherds and their flocks. The tone is quiet and intimate; the mother's relation to the child is affectionate and natural; Joseph's attitude with his hands round his mouth is extremely naturalistic; the browsing sheep and goats are of interest, and so is the stream which splashes down from a spring into a trough.

The Crucifixion, here as in Bernardo's and Taddeo's pictures, is a more abstract representation. It consists simply of Christ on the cross and Mary and John standing one on each side, with no further indication of place or time. The position of Christ is, however, unusual: he hangs low down, bending sharply forward, as though his head were too heavy for his arms to support. The artist has apparently tried to strengthen the impression of physical suffering by the distortion of the figure. He has introduced a stronger touch of realism than we find in other Crucifixions of the period. The picture as a whole bears witness to a highly developed naturalistic method of representation and a power of characterization which arouses and holds our interest.

Very closely related to this Crucifixion is a somewhat larger representation of the same subject in a picture recently transferred from the Uffizi storehouse to the Museo Bandini at Fiesole (Pl. 209). Christ again hangs in the low, bending position which we have just described; the Virgin and St. John stand on either side of the cross, looking rather calm and subdued; the Magdalen kneels and embraces the foot of the cross with both arms. The figures have the same short, broad type as in the preceding triptych; Mary is exactly the same figure in both cases, and Christ on the cross is, as we have said, drawn from the same model. The connection of these two pictures with Nardo's earlier work is most clearly demonstrated in the subsidiary figures — the saints in the foreground, in front of the Madonna's throne, and the five half-length figures in the predella beneath the Crucifixion. In these the types characteristic of Nardo are strikingly evident.

On the other hand there is an obvious connection in style between these small pictures and two larger altarpieces in Florence which are dated with the year of Nardo's death. These form a separate stylistic group among Nardo's works, a group which discloses more clearly than the earlier paintings the artist's poetic temperament and his highly developed, naturalistic mode of expression. Before we undertake a more careful study of these two altarpieces we might briefly mention a pair of wing panels (Pl. 210) in the Old Pinakotek at Munich. These are officially attributed to Spinello Aretino, but they clearly show Nardo's types and figure drawing.

Each panel presents five saints, ranged in two rows. They stand on a brocade carpet of green and gold with a kind of star pattern. The coloring, originally light and brilliant, has been made garish by over-cleaning. The folds have also been altered somewhat; they are organically disposed, but not rendered with the breadth and sureness of Orcagna. The figures are well proportioned, and their form values are good, but they are not majestic. The types, especially those of the older men, should be recognized by anyone who has studied the Paradise fresco, where the same persons appear, only in a better state of preservation and with more intense expressions. In this respect also it is possible that the Munich picture appeared to better advantage before it had suffered from bungling hands.

To the same group as these last two pictures belong two big altarpieces in Florence. One of these, exhibited in the Accademia, represents the Holy Trinity in the center, St. Romuald and St. Andrew ¹ in the wings, and in the predella four scenes from the life of St. Romuald (Pl. 211). The other, a triptych of the Madonna, St. Gregory, and Job, with the legend of Job in the predella, hangs in the sacristy of Santa Croce (Pl. 212).

In the central panel of the Accademia triptych God the Father (represented almost exactly like Christ) sits on a bench with the Crucified before him; over Christ's head floats the white dove. If one compares God the Father with the Christ in the Ionides Coronation, one readily discerns that the figure is the same, turned in one case full face, in the other in profile. Their mantles of subdued azure are draped in the same way, and their hands in both instances are well formed according to the same models. The bench on which God the Father sits is covered with the familiar bird and leaf pattern brocade, in gold on a red ground. This was apparently the show-piece of the workshop, for which the place of honor in the middle picture was regularly reserved, while the floors of the wing pictures were covered with a simpler brocade of star pattern, as we have seen in the Munich pictures and may again observe in both the triptychs under discussion.

With the figures in the wings, likewise, we can find similarities in Munich. Romuald resembles the Munich St. Benedict, Andrew the St. Paul. The types are so much alike that they might have been copied; especially the round heads of Andrew (in Florence) and Paul (in Munich), with their broad, wrinkled foreheads and short

¹ The figure is inscribed with the name of Andrew, but it was presumably intended to represent St. John the Evangelist.

noses, show characteristics of the artist which are rarely lacking in his work. The draping of the mantles is marked by the same rather stiff precision as in the Munich pictures, although the folds are less sharp and the color effect less gaudy, which may easily be explained by the better preservation of the picture. In the little predella pieces we are chiefly attracted by the wide effect of space, which in conjunction with the unusual dignity of the small and well proportioned figures, produces a peculiarly solemn and harmonious impression. Anyone who takes the trouble to scrutinize these little scenes from the life of St. Romuald will find that they include landscapes unsurpassed in the whole fourteenth century. The picture is dated 1365 — the year of Nardo's death, or the year preceding it.

The other triptych mentioned above (now in the sacristy of Santa Croce) bears the same date, a very noteworthy fact, which indicates that either shortly before or shortly after Nardo's death a special effort was made in the *bottega* of the brothers Cione to complete various orders that had possibly lain untouched for some time. The inference is easy that the youngest brother, Jacopo, was active in the completion of these last commissions. The saints in the Santa Croce triptych — Gregory and Job — may be cited in support of this conjecture: they are stiffer and more wooden than in Nardo's earlier work.

The Madonna herself and the child, on the other hand, are unusually appealing figures. Mary sits on just the same kind of bench, without a back, as God the Father in the picture described above (the identity of the brocade should also be noted). With both hands she holds the child, who sits on her left arm; her head is inclined toward him, and he smilingly clasps her round the neck. There is a fresh naturalness about the smiling *bambino*, who is beginning to outgrow his little shirt. He is more like a real baby than is usual in Trecento paintings, where the Christ-child so often looks like a little old man. Mary's short, full face with long eyes and a small mouth may be recognized in many of the figures in the Strozzi Chapel.

To be sure this artist never attained, as the pictures we have considered sufficiently prove, the strictly sculptural figure style of Andrea; but on the whole he is a more progressive modern master. His treatment of form shows already something of that softening of contours which later appears so evidently in Masolino's work. He has a poetic gift of which we can find no trace in the work of Andrea, the great architect. Most instructive, from this point of view, are

the little predella scenes under his big altarpieces. Beneath the Accademia triptych there are incidents from the story of St. Romuald, under the Santa Croce Madonna three separate events from the legend of Job. These representations are with few exceptions set in somber, mountain landscapes that contrast effectively with the gold ground of the sky. A few cypresses or orange trees, placed at different distances from the background, contribute to the impression of width and depth. Against the dark rocks rise in strong relief the little white-clad figures of the monks. The quiet dignity that broods over them combines in peculiar harmony with the deep, subdued tone of the scenes. There were few Florentine artists before Lorenzo Monaco who understood as Nardo did the fusion of landscape and figures in harmonious accord, and none who could paint landscape with so much air and space. In these little renderings of open country Nardo attained more pictorial effects than any other Trecento painter, before him or after. He is therefore in this special sense a more advanced painter than Andrea; he knew how to attain modulated suggestions of atmosphere, and impressive space effects. But his treatment of form had not the plastic strength which raises Andrea's best work to a special place of honor in the art of the Florentine Trecento.

XV

JACOPO DI CIONE

JACOPO DI CIONE was, as we have seen, an active assistant of his older brothers. He is here mentioned in completion of what has been said of the work of Andrea and Nardo, though he really belongs to a later generation. It was not until the 12th of January, 1369, the year after Orcagna's death, that he was enrolled as an independent master in the "Arte dei Medici e Speziali." In the ensuing decade he worked with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, and like so many of the contemporary minor painters he assisted at different periods in the decoration of the Florentine Duomo; 1380 Jacopo paints the stalls of the choir, and in 1389 he assists in painting and gilding four statues for the façade.¹ The latest mention of Jacopo di Cione, called "Robbiccia," in the documents relating to the Duomo is of the year 1398. His productivity seems to have been considerable; it was not the quantity but the quality which declined with advancing age.

We know from documentary evidence that after Orcagna's death Jacopo undertook the completion of the large St. Matthew for Or San Michele, a well known picture now hanging in the Uffizi. Probably the main features, at least, were already composed when Jacopo took charge of the painting. It is constructed on the same broad, architectonic principles we have seen before in Andrea's paintings.

Strongly built on straight, unified lines, the powerful apostle stands in full front, with the open gospel in one hand and a pen in the other. He fills the high, narrow panel and dominates the whole big triptych by the severe effect of line. His mantle is draped in tight, diagonal folds which so break at abrupt angles on both sides that the contour of the figure looks sharp and jagged. Orcagna presumably drew the figure and indicated the lines of the drapery; Jacopo, who was left to put in all the color, did not know how to round off and fill out the hard skeleton of the drawing. The figure is an extreme example of the archaic, rigorous, sculptural style which we have noticed in Andrea's own work.

¹ Cf. "Il Duomo di Firenze," *Documenti sulla Decorazione*, etc., per cura di Giovanni Poggi, Berlin, 1909, pp. 12, 203, 232.

In the wings are shown four scenes from the legend of St. Matthew (Pl. 214), two on each side, one above the other. On the right, we see the saint taming the dragon of the magician, and Christ calling him from the money-changers' table; on the left, the raising of the king's son from the dead, and the martyrdom of the apostle before the altar. These little pictures are simple and orderly in composition, but they make no such impression of space as Nardo's predella pictures. Their decorative value is not very high, chiefly because the figures are rather relaxed and clumsy, without energy or dignity in their movement. Probably Jacopo did these little scenes with his own hand: their style forms a link which connects with the works that he executed without any help from his brothers.

Another picture which Jacopo probably painted while still working in Orcagna's *bottega* is in the Fogg Museum in Cambridge, Mass. (Pl. 215). It is unusual in many respects, notably in the juxtaposition on one panel of four different scenes from the lives of Mary and Christ. In the center are the Annunciation and the Nativity, each under a pointed arch; above, in a medallion, the Crucifixion; below, in a larger, rectangular composition, the Entombment of Christ. The various parts have no compositional connection; the Entombment, especially, is an independent picture, which certainly would be more effective if it were removed from the distracting influence of the other scenes. A certain resemblance is evident between this Entombment and Orcagna's Death of Mary on the tabernacle in Or San Michele, but the single figures lack something of the plastic firmness and massiveness which we have pointed out in Orcagna's own creations.

The Annunciation and Nativity are given in the traditional manner, each with only two figures in profile. We notice, especially, the clear, plastic draping of the kneeling angel's mantle, and the big, stiff baby on Mary's knee — doll-like as in Orcagna's Madonnas. The mother also recalls some of the Virgins by the older brother, although she is weaker, lacking something of the tectonic structure which we have observed in his works. The picture as a whole is rather striking in decorative effect, owing largely to the vivid color scheme of ultramarine, amethyst, carmine, cinnabar, blue, and orange, all enclosed in gleaming gold.

It is not without deliberation that we include among Jacopo's works a large triptych that has already been associated with the brothers Cione by other students (Cavalcaselle, Suida). This picture (Pl. 216) hangs in the sacristy of Santa Croce and shows St.

Giovanni Gualberto enthroned, and four incidents from his life. These small pictures show great similarity in figure drawing and manner of composition to the four scenes from the life of St. Matthew that we have described above. The central figure, on the other hand, is very unlike St. Matthew. St. Giovanni Gualberto is not drawn with straight, sharply broken lines, and he shows none of the archaism which we noticed in the figure of Matthew. His thick, gray mantle is baggy, and falls in loose, ill defined folds. The rendering is weaker and more pictorial than in the Uffizi picture, and one finds little suggestion of Andrea's plastic modeling. It is, therefore, probable that if, as we suppose, Jacopo painted this picture, he did it under the influence of Nardo, and not of Andrea. In any case it belongs to a rather early stage of his activity.

A type resembling that of St. Giovanni Gualberto recurs in a Madonna which we may safely assign to Jacopo. This picture belongs to Mr. Charles Ricketts, in London. The Virgin sits with the clumsily drawn, naked child on her left arm and places her right hand lightly on his breast, just as in some of Andrea's pictures. Her blue mantle, over a carmine garment, is splendidly set off by the familiar brocade hanging with the red and gold bird and palmetto pattern, which here covers the entire background. The angels kneeling at Mary's feet, playing mandolins and zithers, are stiff dolls, and their mantles are draped in sharp folds, quite like those in the picture of St. Matthew. The general style of the painting is purely Orcagnesque, but its relative rigidity and clumsiness shows plainly that Andrea's less able brother and pupil is the master.

A peculiarly fine example of Jacopo's artistic ability during his best period — which presumably fell within the life of Andrea — is the good-sized picture (Pl. 217) in the National Gallery which displays the Crucifixion under a beautiful, Gothic *baldachino*. It used to be ascribed to Spinello Aretino, but has little in common with his work. A comparison with the scenes from the life of St. Matthew should establish Jacopo's authorship of this picture. The stiffness of the turned figures, the sharp breaks of the folds, the facial types, and the little, jointless hands, are all very characteristic, although the execution is unusually careful and elegant. Jacopo has here given proof of his good training, but it seems that he needed to have one of his older brothers watching over him in order to produce anything worth while. The four saints painted on a larger scale, two on each side of the Calvary, must be ranked among the best specimens of Jacopo's painting, and the medallion in the predella of the Madonna

and child shows more delicate feeling than we should have expected of Jacopo.

Other works of Jacopo's betray still more plainly his subservience to his older brothers. We might mention the four stately Church Fathers (of the year 1363) that are now placed on either side of a later Madonna on the high altar of Santa Croce. Executed during Andrea's life, they still keep much of the plastic and monumental quality in attitude and form which is the hall-mark of Orcagna's art, although here it is attenuated and modified. In the course of years this quality stiffens into a pattern, as Jacopo gradually forgets more and more of the artistic principles that ruled in the Orcagna workshop.

Another interesting picture by Jacopo is in the John G. Johnson collection in Philadelphia. It represents the *Quattuor Coronati*, Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphronianus, and Castorinus, being scourged by an executioner, while the tyrant who watches the bloody work is tortured by devils. The four martyrs with hands tied behind their backs, wearing only a cloth about the loins, must be reckoned among the earliest nudes in Italian painting, apart from the ritual representations in Crucifixions and Last Judgments. The two further figures present the characteristic, broad type, with aquiline nose. The tyrant and his attendants are more flaccidly drawn. The artist has tried to evade the difficulties of perspective by placing the hall, which encloses the scene, diagonally with one corner pointing into the background.

On a somewhat larger scale than these narrative pictures is a very remarkable Crucifixion (Pl. 218), now belonging to Mr. Philip Lehman in New York. The shape of this picture is very unusual. It is tall and narrow, terminating at the top in an *arc mixtiligne* and spreading out at the bottom into two convex segments. The lower edge of the picture is broken by a slightly pointed curve; it looks as if the painting had been made to fit into an architectural setting. On each side of the molding round the central panel are three narrow, rectangular pictures of angels in half-length. These are especially characteristic of Jacopo, showing his typical, broad forehead and somewhat aquiline nose.

The composition is dominated by the figure of Christ on a cross of unusual height. The people on the hill before the cross are, as usual, divided into two groups, on one side the holy women and St. John, on the other, the Hebrews and the Roman soldiers. Mary Magdalen kneels, embracing the cross, though Christ's feet are high above her

head. The fainting Virgin is supported by St. John and a young woman, both kneeling; the women who stand behind them gaze up at the Crucified. Still more than the figure of Christ, these women display the characteristic types. The colors are light and vivid, blue, yellow, gray, cinnabar, and amethyst prevailing. The treatment of the folds is decidedly sculptural, and the drawing has much of Orcagna's firmness, emphasized by rather heavy, black contours. The picture must be assigned to Jacopo di Cione's early years as an independent painter, shortly after the death of Andrea.

It is established by documentary evidence that the well known Coronation (Pl. 219) in the Uffizi, originally in the Zecca Vecchia, was ordered from Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, who began it with the help of one Maestro Simone, but that in the year 1373 it was finished by one "Jacopo di Cino."¹ In our opinion this name is merely a mistaken spelling of "Jacopo di Cione," as the whole style of the picture indicates the collaboration of this artist. Of the ten patron saints of Florence who are introduced, the two kneeling at the back and the two standing St. Johns show the pure Orcagnesque types, and the handling of the folds is more sculptural than in Gerini's own work. Behind the main figure hangs the old familiar brocade of the Cione *bottega*. On these two grounds we believe that Jacopo di Cione was one of the artists who worked in the factory of the great contractor, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini.

This theory solves another artistic problem. The great Coronation (Pl. 220) from San Piero Maggiore in the National Gallery, London, is associated with the work of Orcagna by several authorities, even by those who hesitate to accept the statement of Vasari and Crowe and Cavalcaselle, that Andrea painted it himself. Now the records of payment of the year 1370 name as the master from whom the picture was ordered "Niccolaio dipintore," who can hardly be anyone but Niccolò di Gerini.² How, then, can this be reconciled with the Orcagnesque character of the painting? If Jacopo di Cione was employed by Gerini in 1373 to finish the Florentine Coronation, is it not easy to assume that he worked for the same employer three years earlier, and at that time still retained something more of the manner of Orcagna?

The National Gallery Coronation is a monumental work that attracts more attention than most Trecento paintings, not only

¹ Cf. *Catalogue de la Galerie royale des Uffizi*, 1899, p. 102.

² The records of payment are printed in an Appendix by Giovanni Poggi to my *Giottino*, pp. 99-102.

because of its great size and unusually good state of preservation, but also because of its wealth of gay color and its hieratic majesty. It is, indeed, one of the most sumptuous representations of all the splendors of the heavenly throng on this solemn occasion when Christ places the crown on the head of Mary. The two chief figures, in white mantles richly ornamented in gold, sit on a wide, Gothic throne under an ornate canopy, and before them are kneeling and standing angels, playing instruments of every kind. On each side are twenty-four saints, robed in gorgeous mantles, with their various attributes and gleaming haloes. Under their feet and over the back of the throne are magnificent brocades. The whole great painting has an air of festivity and pomp which must have been still more impressive when the picture was in place on the high altar of the softly lighted, old church of San Piero Maggiore. The resemblance in style between the main figures in this picture and those in the Zecca Vecchia Coronation is quite convincing proof of the identity of authorship.

Around the large picture in the National Gallery are hung five small panels which are supposed to have formed part of the same altarpiece as originally framed. They show scenes from the life of Christ (Pl. 217), and their artistic quality is in some particulars finer than that of the main panel.

It is unfortunately evident that Jacopo had not the ability to maintain the good old traditions of the time of Andrea and Nardo. His natural gifts were small, and he was very dependent on his models or on the artist with whom he was actually working. The strict drawing and plastic modeling which he learned from Orcagna became more and more relaxed and conventionalized in the course of years. The influence of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini was destructive, on him as on all the other artists who came into contact with this unscrupulous manufacturer. We may suspect Jacopo of collaboration in several pictures which are vaguely like the Gerini's in character, but the problem is of far too slight aesthetic importance to deserve further discussion here.

The proud tradition of the Florentine painter-plasticians, the continuation and development of Giotto's great revival, was drowning in the slough of stagnation and routine just as the purely pictorial tendency under Sienese influence was coming into full bloom — an accurate indication of the course followed by the main current of artistic development. It was obviously easier and more attractive

to paint in the graceful, Sienese manner, to cultivate the handling of light and color and all the other decorative elements than to concentrate endeavor on the problem of plastic form, a task which could be successfully undertaken only by such men of genius as Giotto and Orcagna.

LISTS OF PICTURES BY GIOTTO AND
SOME OF HIS FOLLOWERS



LISTS OF PICTURES

GIOTTO

- ASSISI. *San Francesco. Upper Church.* Some share in the execution of frescoes 2-20 of the St. Francis series, now altered by restoration.
- BERLIN. *Kaiser Friedrich Museum.* The Dormition of the Virgin.
- BOSTON. *Mrs. J. L. Gardner.* The Presentation in the Temple.
- FLORENCE. *Santa Croce. Cappella Bardi.* Scenes from the life of St. Francis.
- Ibid. Cappella Peruzzi.* Scenes from the lives of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.
- Ibid. Cappella Tosinighi* (over the entrance). Assumption of the Virgin.
- Accademia.* Madonna.
- Bargello. Chapel.* Traces of ruined frescoes from the legend of St. Mary Magdalen, and of a Last Judgment (probably in part).
- Mr. Bernard Berenson.* Entombment of Christ.
- MUNICH. *Old Pinakotek.* Last Supper; Crucifixion; Descent into Hell (three small panels partly restored).
- NEW YORK. *Metropolitan Museum.* Adoration of the Magi.
- PADUA. *Arena Chapel.* Scenes from the lives of Mary and of Christ; Last Judgment; Allegorical Virtues and Vices.
- Ibid. Sacristy.* Crucifix.
- San Antonio. Chapter Hall.* St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata; Martyrdom of the Franciscan Friars and eight saints; traces of many ruined frescoes.
- ROME. *San Giovanni in Laterano.* Pope Boniface VIII Proclaiming the Jubilee. Much restored fresco.

GIOTTO'S WORKSHOP

- BOLOGNA. *Pinacoteca.* Polyptych: Madonna and four saints. Signed.
- FLORENCE. *Santa Croce. Cappella Medici.* The Coronation of the Virgin. Signed.
- PARIS. *Louvre.* St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata. Signed.
- ROME. *St. Peter's. Sacristy.* Altarpiece: Christ, Peter, the Martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul, Madonna and saints.

THE ST. CECILIA-MASTER

(BUFFALMACO ?)

ASSISI. *San Francesco. Upper Church.* The first and the last four pictures of the St. Francis frescoes.

BUDAPEST. *Museum.* Madonna.

FLORENCE. *San Simone.* St. Peter Enthroned. Dated 1301.

Uffizi. St. Cecilia Enthroned and eight scenes from her life.

San Miniato al Monte. St. Miniato and eight scenes from his life (much repainted).

Santa Margherita a Montici. Madonna and angels.

Ibid. St. Margherita and six scenes from her life.

THE ST. NICHOLAS-MASTER

(STEFANO FIORENTINO ?)

ASSISI. *San Francesco. Cappella del Sacramento.* Scenes from the life of St. Nicholas of Bari; Madonna and a number of saints.

Ibid. Cappella del Maddalena. Scenes from the lives of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Mary of Egypt. These frescoes were painted in collaboration with another pupil of Giotto who had worked with the master in Padua.

BERGEN (Norway). *Picture Gallery.* Small Madonna.

BERLIN. *Kaiser Friedrich Museum.* Madonna Enthroned, four saints standing behind the throne, four in the foreground.

FLORENCE. *Santa Croce. Museo dell'Opera.* Madonna and four saints in half-length.

OXFORD. *Ashmolean Museum.* Small Madonna, half-length.

TERENZANO (near Florence). Madonna and four saints in half-length (?).

THE MASTER OF THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN

(PUCCIO CAPANNA ?)

ASSISI. *San Francesco. Lower Church. Right transept.* Scenes from the lives of the Virgin and Christ; two miracles performed by Franciscan friars (executed with the assistance of another painter).

Ibid. Over the High Altar. Allegories of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience; St. Francis in Glory. (The last executed with the assistance of a painter who also collaborated in the Magdalen frescoes.)

BERLIN. *Kaiser Friedrich Museum.* Crucifixion.

FLORENCE. *Duomo. Crypt of St. Zenobius.* Altarpiece: on the front, Madonna and four saints; on the back, Annunciation and saints.

San Felice. Crucifix.

Herbert P. Horne Collection. Small triptych: in the center, the Crucifixion.

LASTRA A SIGNA. *Mr. F. M. Perkins.* Triptych: Madonna, Nativity, and Crucifixion (early).

PHILADELPHIA. *John G. Johnson Collection.* Small Madonna, the child is holding a puppy.

PISTOJA. *San Francesco. Choir.* Traces of frescoes from the life of St. Francis and of saints (?). (The paintings are in too bad a state to allow of a definite attribution.)

STRASSBURG. *Museum.* Crucifixion.

IN THE MANNER OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED MASTER
AND HIS ASSISTANTS

ASSISI. *Santa Chiara. On the vault over the altar.* Four triangular compositions of saints and angels.

Ibid. Right aisle. Traces of legendary frescoes.

Ibid. Cappella San Giorgio. Altarpiece: Madonna and four saints.

TADDEO GADDI

BERLIN. *Kaiser Friedrich Museum*. No. 1079. Small triptych: Madonna, Nativity, and Crucifixion. Dated 1334.

Ibid. Nos. 1073 and 1074. Pentecost and Miracle of St. Francis.

Ibid. Assumption of the Virgin (early).

BOSTON. *Museum*. Nativity (?).

BROOKLYN, N. Y. *Mr. Frank L. Babbott*. Small triptych: Madonna, Nativity, and Crucifixion (early).

CASTELFIORENTINO. *Santa Verdiana*. Madonna (much repainted).

DIJON. *Musée*. Nativity (?).

ENGLEWOOD, N. J. *Mr. D. F. Platt*. Bust of a prophet.

FIESOLE. *Museo Bandini*. Annunciation (school work).

FLORENCE. *Accademia*. Nos. 104-115 and 117-126. Twelve scenes from the life of the Virgin and Christ; ten scenes from the life of St. Francis.

Santa Croce. *Over a door*. Christ among the Doctors, fragment of a larger fresco.

Ibid. *Cappella Baroncelli*. Twelve scenes from the life of the Virgin and allegorical figures in the vault, at the entrance to the chapel over a tomb; Madonna in half-length.

Ibid. *Cappella Bardi*. The Entombment (much restored).

Ibid. *Former Refectory*. The Last Supper; Crucifixion and four legendary scenes (executed largely by assistants).

Santa Felicità. *Sacristy*. Madonna and four saints.

Ognissanti. *Sacristy*. Crucifixion with five saints (restored).

Uffizi. Madonna, two female saints, and angels. Dated 1355.

Ibid. Madonna in half-length (lunette).

Bargello. *Entrance Hall*. Madonna Enthroned and a number of kneeling donors at her feet. (Restored fresco.)

San Marco. *Second cloister*. Madonna and two saints (largely over-painted by Mainardi).

San Giorgio a Ruballa. Crucifix.

Herbert P. Horne Collection. St. Stephen, half-length (early).

Bartolini-Salimbeni Collection (now dispersed). Small triptych: Crucifixion, Madonna, Raising of Drusiana, and St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata.

LASTRA A SIGNA. *Mr. F. M. Perkins.* Large Crucifix.

NAPLES. *Museum.* Small triptych: Madonna and saints. Dated 1336.

NEW HAVEN, CONN. *Jarves Collection.* No. 8. Pietà with Mary and John.

NEW YORK. *Metropolitan Museum.* Madonna and four saints, in Quattrocento framing.

Historical Society. Small Madonna and saints.

PISA. *San Francesco.* Vault of the choir. Prophets (restored). Painted 1342.

Campo Santo. Scenes from the life of Job.

PISTOJA. *San Giovanni Fuoricivitas.* Madonna and four saints. Dated 1353.

POPPI. (*Casentino*) *Castello.* Scenes from the life of the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, and St. John the Evangelist. (Much deteriorated frescoes executed largely by assistants.)

SAN MARTINO A MENSOLA (near Florence). Madonna and two saints, in Quattrocento framing.

SETTIGNANO (near Florence). *Mr. Kerr-Lawson.* Madonna.

STRASSBURG. *Museum.* No. 200. Small triptych: Madonna, Crucifixion, Nativity, and saints.

VIENNA. *Lichtenstein Collection.* Small Madonna.

Ourousoff Collection. Small triptych: Annunciation, Crucifixion, and saints.

BERNARDO DADDI

ALTENBURG. *Lindenau Museum*. Triptych: Madonna, Nativity, and Crucifixion.

BERLIN. *Kaiser Friedrich Museum*. Madonna and two saints, half-length (predella by Bicci di Lorenzo).

Ibid. Coronation of the Virgin, Nativity, and Crucifixion.

BOSTON. *Mrs. J. L. Gardner*. Madonna, half-length (?).

CAMBRIDGE, MASS. *Fogg Museum*. (Belonging to Mrs. Charles B. Perkins.) Triptych: Crucifixion, Christ in Gethsemane and six saints. Dated 1334 Mense Martii.

ENGLEWOOD, N. J. *Mr. D. F. Platt*. Crucifixion.

FLORENCE. *Santa Croce. Cappella Pulci*. Martyrdom of St. Stephen and St. Lawrence.

Or San Michele. Madonna and angels (overpainted at the beginning of the XVth century.)

Accademia. Small Madonna and saints. Dated 1334.

Ibid. Crucifixion, on the back, St. Christopher.

Ibid. Madonna and six saints in full figure; predella with ten scenes from the life of the Virgin. (Late.)

Ibid. Crucifixion. Dated 1344 (possibly school work).

Ibid. *Stanza del Ispettore*. Madonna and four saints, half-length. Dated 1333. (Repainted.)

Uffizi. Madonna and two saints, half-length. Dated 1328.

Ibid. *Storeroom*. Large Madonna, full length. Dated 1333. (Ruined.)

Bigallo. Triptych: Madonna, Nativity, and Crucifixion. Dated 1332.

Museo dell'Opera del Duomo. Virgin in half-length; St. Zenobius, St. Catherine and kneeling donor. Dated 1334.

Herbert P. Horne Collection. Diptych: Madonna and Crucifixion.

Mr. Bernard Berenson. Madonna in half-length.

Ibid. Crucifixion. Wing from small triptych.

San Giusto a Signano. Madonna and two saints, full length figures.

San Giorgio a Ruballa. Madonna and two saints, full length.

San Martino alla Palma. Madonna, full length. (Repainted.)

- GLOUCESTER.** *Highnam Court.* *Sir Hubert Parry.* Polyptych: Crucifixion and eight saints. Signed and dated 1348.
- LONDON.** *Lord Ilchester.* Madonna, two saints, and two angels.
Ibid. Crucifixion with twelve figures at the foot of the cross.
Henry Wagner Collection (now dispersed). Coronation of the Virgin (partly repainted).
Buckingham Palace. *Royal Collections.* Sposalizio, part of the predella of the Accademia ancona.
Wallace Collection. Nativity and saint. Fragment of a small wing.
Mr. L. Harris. Crucifixion (early).
- MEININGEN.** *Palace.* Small triptych: Madonna, Crucifixion, and saints.
- MUNICH.** *Mr. Julius Böhler.* Small triptych: Crucifixion, Nativity, Madonna, and scenes from the lives of St. Nicholas and St. Peter. Dated 1338.
- NAPLES.** *Museum.* Madonna and four saints.
- NEW HAVEN, CONN.** *Jarves Collection.* Vision of St. Dominic. Predella panel.
- NEW YORK.** *Historical Society.* Small diptych: Madonna and Last Judgment.
Mr. George Blumenthal. Crucifixion.
Miss Belle Greene. Madonna and four saints.
Mr. Grenville L. Winthrop. Madonna, half-length.
- OXFORD.** *Christ Church.* Four music-making angels. Fragment of a large altarpiece.
- PARIS.** *Louvre.* Annunciation.
Musée des Arts Décoratifs. St. Peter Martyr Preaching. Predella panel.
Sulzbach Collection. Madonna and four pairs of saints.
- PISA.** *Museo Civico.* Two scenes from the life of St. Cecilia. Predella panels.
- POSEN.** *Raczynski Collection.* St. Dominic Saving a Ship in a Storm. Predella panel.
- PRATO.** *Pinacoteca.* Predella with scenes from the story of the Holy Girdle.
- ROME.** *Vatican Gallery.* Eight scenes from the legend of St. Stephen.
Ibid. Small Madonna and saints.
Sterbini Collection. Madonna and four saints.
Signor A. Frattini (in 1908). Madonna in half-length.

- SIENA. *Accademia*. Small triptych: Madonna with four saints, Nativity, and Crucifixion. Dated 1336.
- STOCKHOLM. *Private Collection*. Triptych: Madonna, Crucifixion, and St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata; Annunciation.
- STRASSBURG. *Museum*. Bust of two saints.
- VIENNA. *Lanckoronski Collection*. Madonna and music-making angels.

WORKSHOP OF BERNARDO DADDI

- ALTENBURG. *Lindenau Museum*. Coronation of the Virgin with numerous saints. Central piece from a small triptych.
- FLORENCE. *Accademia*. Nos. 282 and 284. Small diptych: Madonna and four saints, Crucifixion.
- Uffizi*. Christ on the Cross, Mary, St. John, and Magdalen.
- Ibid.* *Storeroom*. Madonna, full length, child holding a bird (much restored).
- Palazzo Rucellai*. Madonna and four saints, half-length, Quattrocento framing.
- PARIS. *Louvre*. Small triptych: Madonna and saints, Nativity, and Crucifixion.
- PRATO. *Pinacoteca*. Madonna and four saints in half-length.
- ROME. *Vatican Gallery*. Madonna, half-length.
- Ibid.* The Virgin, in half-length, copied from Bernardo's picture in the Opera del Duomo, Florence.
- SIENA. *Accademia*. Madonna and saints. Central piece from a small triptych.

PUPIL OF BERNARDO DADDI

- BERLIN. *Kaiser Friedrich Museum*. Madonna in half-length (ascribed to Agnolo Gaddi).
- FLORENCE. *Uffizi*. Coronation of the Virgin with numerous saints.
- Palazzo Corsini*. Triptych: Madonna and four saints.
- GÖTTINGEN. *University Museum*. St. Catherine and St. Lawrence.
- MÜNSTER. *Landesmuseum*. St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.

JACOPO DAL CASENTINO

FLORENCE. *Palazzo dell'Arte della Lana*. Madonna Enthroned, saints, and angels.

Uffizi. St. Bartholomew Enthroned.

Mr. Charles Loeser. The Dormition of the Virgin.

GÖTTINGEN. *University Museum*. Small Madonna and legendary scenes which originally formed wings to the central Madonna.

MILAN. *Ser Guido Cagnola*. Small Madonna triptych. Signed.

MASO — GIOTTINO

- ASSISI. *San Francesco. Lower Church.* Coronation of the Virgin and two scenes from the life of St. Stanislaus.
- Ibid. Former Chapter Hall.* Crucifixion and eight saints.
- Santa Chiara. Cappella San Giorgio.* Madonna and four saints (much restored fresco painting).
- Oratorio di San Rufinuccio.* Crucifixion and traces of two scenes from the Passion (ruined frescoes).
- Istituto di San Giuseppe.* Fragments of a Crucifixion, St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata, and of other scenes (ruined frescoes).
- FLORENCE. *Santa Croce. Cappella Bardi.* Five scenes from the legends of St. Sylvester and Constantine; Last Judgment, over the Bardi tomb.
- Badia. Upper part of Chapel towards Via Proconsolo.* Fragments of scenes from the legends of St. Bartholomew and St. Stephen.
- Santo Spirito. Right transept.* Madonna and four saints in half-length (partly restored).
- Uffizi. No. 27.* Pietà.
- PHILADELPHIA. *John G. Johnson Collection.* Madonna and four saints in half-length.

ANDREA DI CIONE CALLED ORCAGNA

- BAJMO CZ. *Pálffy Collection*. Altarpiece: Madonna and four saints.
(Studio work.)
- BERLIN. *Kaiser Friedrich Museum*. No. 1904. Scene from the life of St. Dominic.
- BUDAPEST. *Museum*. No. 50. Madonna and angels.
- CASTELFIORENTINO. *Santa Verdiana*. St. Verdiana, standing between two snakes. (Badly preserved.)
- FIESOLE. *Museo Bandini*. Sala I, Nos. 11-14. Predella: scenes from the childhood of Christ (badly preserved studio work).
- FLORENCE. *Santi Apostoli*. Madonna, standing (much restored).
Badia. Cappella Bonsi. Altar triptych: Descent of the Holy Spirit.
Santa Croce. Fragmentary figures from the Triumph of Death.
Santa Maria Maggiore. Altar triptych: Madonna, four saints, and two angels.
Santa Maria Novella. Cappella Strozzi. Altarpiece: Christ Enthroned and eight saints. Dated 1357.
San Stefano a Ponte Vecchio. St. Peter.
Accademia. No. 138. Vision of St. Bernard and four saints.
Ibid. Presentation in the Temple and two saints. Dated 1364. (Studio work.)
- LONDON. *National Gallery*. St. John the Baptist; St. John the Evangelist; St. James.
- NEW HAVEN, CONN. *Jarves Collection*. Adoration of the Magi.
Ibid. St. Paul and St. Peter.
New York. Mr. Philip Lehman. Madonna and angels.
- OXFORD. *Ashmolean Museum*. Birth of Mary. Predella piece.
- PHILADELPHIA. *John G. Johnson Collection*. Predella: Adoration of the Magi and four legendary scenes.
- STOCKHOLM. *Private Collection*. Christ in the Tomb surrounded by saints.
- VIENNA. *Karl Moll Collection* (lately dispersed). Presentation in the Temple. Part of the same predella as the picture in Oxford.

NARDO DI CIONE

ENGLEWOOD, N. J. *Mr. D. F. Platt.* Madonna and saints.

FIESOLE. *Museo Bandini.* Crucifixion.

FLORENCE. *Badia. Cappella Giochi e Bastari.* Fragments of scenes from the Passion.

Santa Croce. Sacristy. Madonna between two saints. Dated 1365.

Santa Maria Novella. Cappella Strozzi. Last Judgment; Paradise and Hell. (The last named fresco entirely repainted.)

Ibid. First cloister. Four scenes from the life of the Virgin and two saints.

Accademia. Trinity and two saints. Dated 1365.

Mr. Bernard Berenson. Scene from the life of St. Benedict. Predella piece.

GLOUCESTER. *Highnam Court. Sir Hubert Parry.* Triptych: Madonna surrounded by saints, Nativity, and Crucifixion.

LONDON. *Victoria and Albert Museum. Ionides Collection.* Coronation of the Virgin.

MUNICH. *Old Pinakotek.* Two wings of an altarpiece, with a number of saints.

NEW YORK. *Dr. Bashford Dean.* Resurrection of Christ. Predella panel.

Historical Society. Large Madonna and saints.

Kleinberger Galleries. Small Crucifixion.

Mr. Philip Lehman. Nativity. Predella picture.

STOCKHOLM. *Private Collection.* Madonna surrounded by saints and angels.

University Museum. St. Paul Enthroned.

JACOPO DI CIONE

CAMBRIDGE, MASS. *Fogg Museum*. Small altar picture representing Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion, and Entombment.

FIESOLE. *Museo Bandini*. Crucifix (from Santa Maria Primeriana).

FLORENCE. *Santa Croce*. *Main Altar*. The Four Church Fathers. Dated 1363.

Ibid. *Sacristy*. St. Giovanni Gualberto and scenes from his life.

Uffizi. St. Matthew and four scenes from his life. Completed 1369.

Ibid. Coronation of the Virgin with the four patron saints of Florence (the picture was begun by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, 1372).

Ibid. *Storeroom*. Madonna, four saints, and four kneeling angels.

GLOUCESTER. *Highnam Court*. *Sir Hubert Parry*. Annunciation (early).

LONDON. *Lord Crawford*. Crucifixion and saints. (Inserted in a Quattrocento tabernacle.)

National Gallery. Coronation of the Virgin, twenty-four saints on each wing. Five small, separate panels from the same altarpiece representing scenes from the life of Christ. The picture was executed in 1370-71 in the workshop of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini by Jacopo di Cione and other painters.

Ibid. Crucifixion, saints on the pilasters and in the medallions of the predella.

Mr. Charles Ricketts. Madonna.

NEW HAVEN, CONN. *Jarves Collection*. No. 16. Madonna surrounded by four saints.

Ibid. No. 17. Nativity and Resurrection.

NEW YORK. *Kleinberger Galleries*. Coronation of the Virgin and a number of saints.

Ibid. Large altar triptych: Madonna between four saints.

Mr. Philip Lehman. Crucifixion, angels in half-length in the frame.

OXFORD. *Christ Church*. Madonna between four saints.

PARIS. *Dr. Widal*. Madonna and four saints in half-length.

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